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A HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN INDIA

Since the Early Days of the East India Company

THE FIRST INDIAN BISHOP AND THE BISHOPS WHO CONSECRATED HIM.

Back Row: BISHOPS GILL *(Travancore)*, WILLIAMS *(Tinnevelly)*, CHATTERTON *(Nagpur)*, FOSS WESTCOTT *(Chota Nagpur)*, GEORGE WESTCOTT *(Lucknow)*.

Front Row: BISHOPS LEFROY *(Lahore)*, PALMER *(Bombay)*, AZARIAH *(Dornakal)*, R. S. COPLESTON *(Metropolitan)*, WHITEHEAD *(Madras)*, E. A. COPLESTON *(Colombo)*, FYFFE *(Rangoon)*.

Frontispiece.

A HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN INDIA Since the Early Days of the East India Company

BY

EYRE CHATTERTON, D.D.

BISHOP OF NAGPUR

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To

THAT GREAT BODY OF CHAPLAINS

PAST AND PRESENT

WHO HAVE BORNE THE BURDEN AND HEAT OF

"THE LONG LONG INDIAN DAY" WHILE

FAITHFULLY SERVING

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN INDIA

THIS RECORD OF THEIR WORK IS

Dedicated

WITH THE AUTHOR'S WARM

APPRECIATION

FOREWORD

WHEN the Bishops in India decided that the time had come that a reliable history, tracing the growth of the Church of England in India, should be produced in a popular form, it was natural for them to turn to the present Bishop of Nagpur, whose facile pen had already furnished them with two books of the kind, describing the Church's work in Chota-Nagpur and in Gondwana. A perusal of this more comprehensive volume will satisfy its readers that the confidence of his colleagues on the Episcopal Bench was not misplaced, and they will be deeply interested by the graphic narrative which fills the pages of his history.

A strain of sadness runs through Dr. Chatterton's Preface as he contemplates the changing of the old order, giving place to the new ; he looks back regretfully upon the old, while he views with something of apprehension the advent of the new. For myself, as I have read these chapters and noted the progressive stages of the Church's growth, I look forward with confident hope to the new era which is even now dawning. It seems to follow in the natural course of evolution upon the two clearly marked periods which have preceded it. In the early days of the East India Company's enterprise, Chaplains were sent out to follow up their fellow-countrymen to the distant East. They were ministers of isolated congregations of British merchants and soldiers, unconscious for the most part of any call to win the people of the land for Christ, with no Father-in-God at hand to encourage and uphold them in their difficult task.

With the passing of the Act of 1813, the system of Church organisation was completed by the appointment of the first Bishop of Calcutta. This marked the opening of the second stage of the Church's life in India, and a beginning once made dioceses were multiplied and Episcopal supervision became

something of a reality. Nor was it only by the perfecting of organisation that this period was marked. Towards the close of the first period Chaplains had been sent out to India by the Rev. Charles Simeon filled with missionary zeal, but they were few in number and the English congregations were their first charge. But the same period which witnessed the advent of the first Bishop to India saw the door, hitherto closed, opened to the missionary, and men and women came out in ever-increasing numbers to commend the Gospel of Christ to Hindus and Mahomedans, by taking a leading part in educating the young, in tending the sick and suffering and befriending the outcaste. The response to their appeal was remarkable, and numbers were gathered into the Church, till at the end of the nineteenth century its Indian members far outnumbered those of British origin. Nor was it in numbers only that this growth was manifest, but by education and character the Indian members of the Church were proving themselves qualified to undertake the task of leadership.

With the twentieth century the time had come when the Church in India was fitted to enter upon the third stage in its development, and the Church of England, true to her principles, undertook the task of granting the daughter she had begotten the same liberty and independence which she had of old claimed for herself. At such a time the hearts of those in authority are filled with feelings of thankfulness not unmixed with anxiety. They rejoice that one more member is added to the family of National Churches through which the great Catholic Church finds expression, and by which her interpretation of the unsearchable riches of Christ is enriched. They are conscious of the difficulties and temptations which confront the Church upon whom the responsibility of ordering her life and worship in harmony with Catholic tradition is laid. Few will care to assert that the Church of England, when she assumed her independence from foreign control, made no mistakes, but she has survived them, as the Church of India will hers, because she has the Holy Spirit with her to guide her into all the truth, as she remains within the wider fellowship. No step forward can be taken which involves no risk, but surely the Divine Master who risked the sending of His small band of disciples out into the world, while still they had much to learn, to organise the Church under the guidance of His Holy Spirit, would not have us shun the lesser risk of sending out the Church in India to build up the Church

in this country, not in isolation but as a member of the great family of God.

Bishop Chatterton's book appears at a critical time in the history of the Church in India, and will enable Churchmen to gain an intelligent understanding of the past, which will stand them in good stead in the work which lies before them. "History is the record of the gradual unfolding of the will of God, of which we men are the ministers. . . . We look back, not for patterns and precedents, but for lines of movement, that we may conform ourselves to them." And I am convinced that the Indian Church Measure now being promoted is in true accord with the history of the Church in India as recorded in the pages which follow.

FOSS CALCUTTA.

SIMLA,
St. Matthew's Day, 1923.

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PREFACE

THIS book is an attempt to describe briefly the life of our Church in India since the early days of the "Old John Company." I feel, while writing it, like one who is asked to compose something in the nature of an elegy. For three centuries we have been the "Church of England" in India. To-morrow we may be known as "The Church of India in communion with the Church of England." The change will not be merely one of name. It will mean the passing away of a long-established order of things and the entering into a new one.

The Church will not enter on this new life without encountering grave difficulties. From the beginning it has been accustomed to have many of its needs met; first, by the East India Company, and then by a paternal Indian Government. The burden of the support of its Clergy, the building and maintenance of many of the Churches, the support of the schools, have hitherto been largely met by Government in a way experienced by no other Province of the Anglican Church.

How will it be able to sustain these heavy burdens when a Government, increasingly Indian, gradually withdraws our accustomed financial support? How will it fare, too, when English support is no longer what it once was, and when with a largely diminished English membership, the Anglo-Indian and Indian members of the Church have to rely almost entirely on their own efforts and resources?

We must be philosophical and try to console ourselves with the reflection that temporary losses may be but the prelude to greater gains. "The old order changeth, yielding place to new, and God fulfils Himself in many ways."

It may well happen that some of the things on which we have bestowed labour and devotion are not long to survive; but surely we may trust that much we have taught our Indian Christian congregations of the value of truth, the

beauty of worship, and the importance of Church order and discipline, will remain, and will pass into the life of that greater Church of which we are but a part, and towards which large bodies of other Christians in India are making their contribution also. What, too, if it should happen that all these great changes which many dread must come about before the Christian Church can be a real driving power for the conversion of India! If this is so, then welcome our losses, which are but the prelude to greater gains.

It is well, on the eve of the great changes, that English Churchmen at home and abroad should be told something of what their Church has been doing in India during the last three hundred years.

"We have heard with our ears, and our fathers have told us, what Thou hast done in times of old."

That there is not much to speak of from a Church point of view in the early days of our Indian Venture is what most readers of the English history of that period would expect. The Church of England had at that time heavy burdens laid on her at home and in her new colonies. The time for Mission work in India had not yet come.

How, then, comes it that whereever we go in India to-day we see our Churches, Missions, Schools, and Hospitals dotted all over the land?

To tell how these things came to be is the purpose of this little book. That the subject deserves a better and fuller treatment, the writer readily admits, but living in the heart of India and away from libraries is not exactly an ideal condition for writing a book of this kind. One has also tried to tell a long story rather briefly, which means a good deal of arbitrary selection, and the inevitable omitting of many interesting and even important things. I have been indebted, of course, to many previous writers, and if I do not mention their names in this Preface it is because they are mentioned so frequently in the following pages.

EYRE NAGPUR,
Bishop of Nagpur.

Bishop's Lodge,
Nagpur,
Central Provinces,
India,
August 30, 1923.

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A HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN INDIA

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SURAT, 1607—1688

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Books of Reference.—Hunter's *History of India*; Arnold Wright's *Early English Adventurers in the East India*; *India Through the Ages*, by Mrs. F. A. Steele; *Gazetteer of Gujerat*; *A Voyage to East India*, by the Rev. Edward Terry, Chaplain to the Right Honble. Sir Thomas Roe, Kt., Ambassador to the Great Mughal; *A Voyage to Surat in the Year* 1689, by the Rev. James Ovington; *The English in Western India*, by the Rev. Philip Anderson; Dr. Fryer's (John Comnay's Surgeon) *Travels*; Hamilton's *A New Account of the East Indies*; *Surat and the English*, by Mrs. H. R. Scott.

"We seek Christians and spices."—Vasco da Gama.

SURAT has the honour, to which neither Calcutta nor Bombay can lay claim, of having been "the cradle of the British Empire in India." Three hundred years ago, before Calcutta was dreamt of and when Bombay was but a group of small and swampy islands, barely connected at low tide, the residence of poor fisher folk, Surat was the foremost seaport of India.

Situated one hundred miles to the north of Bombay, on the left or southern bank of the Tapti, about eight miles from the sea, it had an almost world-wide reputation for trade and manufactures. Mandelslo, a German nobleman, one of several distinguished travellers who visited it in those days, speaks of its trade in the following terms:—

" By land, caravans went and came by the Tapti Valley, south-east to Golconda, east to Berar, and from that on to Agra, and north through Ahmedabad to Delhi and Lahore. By sea, ships came from the Concan and Malabar Coast, and from the west, besides the great trade with Europe from, the ports of East Africa, Arabia and the Persian Gulf; south, they came from Ceylon, and east from Madras and the Bengal coasts, from Pegu and Malakka, and even from Atchin and Sumatra."

Another contemporary writer describes Surat as " a prime mart of India, no nation sailing in the Indian Ocean but what puts into Surat to buy, sell, or load."

The articles exposed in its markets excelled those spoken of by the Hebrew Prophets of the merchandise of ancient Tyre, and included " iron, copper, alum, diamonds, rubies, rock-crystal, agate and cornelian cups, wheat, valuable medicines, drugs, soap, sugar, paper, wax, opium, indigo, and silk and cotton cloth."

It is interesting too to note that amongst English goods which were specially in demand at Surat were " broad-cloth, sword-blades, knives, looking-glasses, quicksilver, lead, ' cases of strong drink,' ingeniously constructed toys, and big English bull-dogs."

Surat was itself a manufacturing city, and was specially famous for its ship-building, furniture-making and wood-carving. In its shipyards were built sea-going vessels up to a thousand tons in burden. So strongly were they built that it was quite common for them to last one hundred years. Its articles of household furniture, painted and lacquered with different colours and designs, its sandal-wood boxes beautifully inlaid with mother-of-pearl, were famous then as they are to-day.

Surat had another claim to fame, for it was there that Mahomedan pilgrims from all parts of India and Central Asia assembled annually for the sacred pilgrimage to Mecca ; so much so that its popular title at that time was the " Gate of Mecca."

Here, in the monsoon of 1608, came Captain Hawkins in his ship *The Hector*, carrying merchandise from London, and bearing a letter from His Majesty King James I. of England. The letter was addressed to the Mughal Emperor Jahangir, asking permission for the London Company of merchants to trade in the city of Surat and within his realms.

It was a six-months' voyage from London to Surat in those days, and these voyages were not only long, but nearly always fraught with danger. Few sailors left the Port of London for the East Indies but anticipated that when once round the Cape of Good Hope, they would have to be prepared at short notice to do battle with their rivals the Portuguese.

Terry, Chaplain to Sir Thomas Roe, in the account he gives us of his voyage to India, describes a really fierce two-days' sea-fight between his little ship with its two small companions and a huge Portuguese vessel heavily gunned, in which two important persons, the Captain and the cook of his ship, lost their lives !

It was after all but natural that the Portuguese of those days bitterly resented the intrusion of the English and Dutch into what they regarded as their own special preserves. Ever since Vasco da Gama, the great Portuguese admiral, had shown the way East, more than a century before, the Portuguese had been undisputed masters of these Eastern seas. Their settlements were dotted along the coasts of India, extending right away to the islands of Java and Sumatra, among the " famous spice islands of the Eastern Archipelago," and up the Chinese coast to Macao. But now that her power was beginning to decline, Portugal found that strong rivals from the West had come to dispute her supremacy. The fact, too, that these rivals came from England and Holland, countries which had repudiated the authority of the Holy See at the Reformation, only increased her feelings of anger by adding to a natural trade jealousy the bitterness of religious hatred.

The reception which Captain Hawkins met with in Surat was on the whole favourable. After spending a short time there he proceeded up-country to the Imperial Court at Ajmer in Rajputana, where he presented his letter to the Mughal Emperor, who graciously granted him permission to trade within his dominions.

Encouraged by this success English merchant vessels soon began to appear with such remarkable frequency in the shallow roadstead off the mouth of the Tapti that the fears of the Portuguese were thoroughly aroused lest their long-standing trade rights should be interfered with. Judging it useless to parley, they determined to fight. Their first encounter was something like a surprise attack on their part,

when four large galleons bore down one day on Captain Best as he lay at anchor in the roadstead. Unluckily for the Portuguese commander, he soon found himself at grips with one of the toughest and most daring old Vikings of the Elizabethan school. Captain Best had only two vessels under his command, but one of them, the *Red Dragon*, better known in sea circles as the famous privateer *Malice Scourge*, was so wonderfully handy in battle that soon she and the *Osiander* put their enemies to flight. Still unwilling to own defeat and thirsting for revenge, the Portuguese Viceroy, accompanied by the flower of the Portuguese nobility then in India, prepared a large fleet of sixty small war frigates, two vessels of two hundred tons burden and six large galleons, and sailed away north to annihilate this English pest. Again he was up against an Elizabethan sea-dog in Captain Downton, and again the tiny English fleet turned what seemed certain defeat into a glorious victory. It was a repetition in miniature of the story of the great Armada. Downton's victory was an epoch-making event in the East, as hitherto the Mughals had regarded the Portuguese as invincible at sea.

Shortly after this victory the Mughal Viceroy of Ahmedabad visited Surat in person, when articles were drawn up for the settlement of trade with the English in Surat, Cambay, and other places in Western India, and this treaty was confirmed by a charter from the Great Mughal a few months later.

The Portuguese, however, were not yet disposed of ; and it seemed as if a treaty which had actually been signed between them and the Great Mughal, whereby the English and Dutch were to be expelled from all Mughal ports, would have taken effect when Sir Thomas Roe, our first Ambassador from the Court of King James I. to the Great Mughal, arrived at Surat with a British fleet.

Arnold Wright gives us an interesting description of Sir Thomas Roe and his days in Surat and at the Imperial Court at Ajmer, extracted from the Knight's own diary. Our first Ambassador to India clearly possessed the qualities needed for an immensely difficult task. A man of great firmness and courage, he refused to be bullied or cowed or in any way to lower his dignity; and his *sang-froid*, tact, and good humour eventually so impressed Jahangir that he was able to induce that most uncertain of despots to grant considerable concessions to the merchants of the East India Company. Sir

Thomas Roe was, besides all else, a man of real goodness and deep religious faith. While at Ajmer, the Rev. John Hall, B.A., Magdalen College, Oxford, his Chaplain, who had accompanied him to India, was taken ill and died. Sir Thomas's description of poor Hall is pleasant reading. "A man of most gentle and mild nature, religious and unspotted life." That it was by no means a matter of indifference to our Ambassador whether he had or had not a Chaplain is evident from the fact that he writes immediately to the East India Company, urging them to send him another Chaplain. His letter runs as follows: "Here I cannot live the life of an atheist. Let me desire you to endeavour me supply, for I cannot abide in this place destitute of the comfort of God's Word and Holy Sacrament." In answer to this letter the Rev. Edward Terry, a Fellow of Corpus Christi, Oxford, was sent out to India to fill the vacant Chaplaincy.

Terry was the first of a long list of English Clergy in India with literary gifts. To him, as well as to the Rev. J. Ovington, we are indebted for an interesting description of the life of the English in India in those days. Terry, it is true, remained in India but four years, but, while there, he had ample opportunities of seeing a great deal of the country, and his book is well worth reading.

As a great deal of the life of the English in Surat and in other parts of India in those days centres in the Factory, it will be well, I think, to give some account of what a Factory was like. It must be remembered that the word "Factory" did not bear in those days the meaning which it does to-day. It was then used in India to denote the quarters in which the factors, or merchants, as we now call them, lived, where also they had their offices and warehouses for the storing of articles of export and import, which were being continually received and despatched. There was almost nothing of what we call manufacturing connected with these Factories in those early days.

In 1614 the first Factory was opened in Surat. It was on a small scale and occupied by only two merchants. Trade, however, developed rapidly, and within less than ten years the number of factors had increased to a dozen. In accordance with one of the provisions of Sir Thomas Roe's treaty with the Emperor, a palatial building of stone and excellent timber with good carving was erected near the river-side for which a nominal rent of sixty pounds a year was paid to the

Imperial landlord. When one visits the old Factory House in Surat to-day, one reads with interest the inscription erected on one of its walls by order of Lord Curzon, telling how the house was built in 1618 by Prince Khurrum, the son of Jahangir, better known in history as the Emperor Shahjahan.

This house was a two-storied quadrangular building with upper and lower verandahs, enclosing a square court-yard. On the ground floor were go-downs, offices, ware-houses, cellars, a large tank or swimming-bath, and a "hummum," or Turkish bath. Upstairs were the living-rooms, common-rooms, Chapel and bedrooms. In 1638 we find as many as twenty-four merchants and other officers living in the Factory House, which had, besides "several decent apartments for the President, accommodation for no less than forty persons."

The Factory was situated in an extensive garden beautifully laid out with flowers and flowering shrubs on the banks of the Tapti. The table appointments are described as being all of pure silver, "massy and substantial," and the dishes of the most dainty obtainable, "prepared to please the curiosity of every palate by an English, a Portuguese, and an Indian cook." The every-day beverages consisted of tea, Persian wine and punch, but on Sundays, European wines and English beer were added, and the table further embellished by game and fruit.

The President of the Factory at Surat was an important person. Once a year agents from eight subordinate Factories came to give their accounts to him at Surat. In 1630 his dignity was enhanced by his receiving the title of "the Chief of the Honourable Company of English Merchants trading to the East."

Life in the Surat Factory was conducted on the collegiate principle. All lived together, dined together at the common table, attended Chapel morning and evening, and were subjected to severe penalties for swearing, brawling, drunkenness or lying out at night. We may smile, no doubt, as a modern writer truly observes, "at the Puritanical restrictions upon the morals and manners of the young factor." But such rules were necessary at a time when the East presented temptations the like of which can nowadays be only dimly imagined; when, between the departure of one boat and the arrival of the next, the little band of merchants was as

completely cut off from England as Robinson Crusoe in his island; and when, moreover, there was no public opinion to set a standard of conduct. How bad things quickly became when the bonds of discipline were relaxed, may be gathered from the Company's files of the succeeding period, when we find the Directors lamenting in vain the "itch of gambling spreading like a plague," or reprimanding the little Factory of Bencoolen in Sumatra (of nineteen persons) for drinking in a year seventy-four dozen bottles of wine, fifty dozen of French claret, twenty-four dozen of Burton, two pipes and forty-two gallons of Madeira, two hundred and seventy-four bottles of toddy, and one hundred and sixty-four gallons of Goa arrack. They commended "a little tea boiled in water and kept till cool."

"The staff of the Factory consisted of the President and his Council, comprising the Accountant, the Storekeeper, the Purser Marine and the Secretary, the Chaplain and the Surgeon, and Factors, Writers and Apprentices, the latter often having been 'Bluecoat Boys.' The President received £200 to £500 per annum; the senior factors, £100 to £200; the Chaplain, £100; the Surgeon, £40; and the Writers, £15 and £7. This seems extraordinarily small, but we must remember that the purchasing power of money was far greater at that time than it is at present. Terry tells us, for example, that a good sheep or four couple of fowls cost only a shilling, a hare or three partridges one penny, and the rest in proportion.

"Though their salaries were so small, the English servants of the Company lived comfortably in Surat, and in many cases returned to England with large fortunes. Of perquisites, in addition to their pay, the young men received from the Indian brokers at every Diwali festival (September to October) presents of jewels and cloth, enough to serve them for great part of the year. The Surgeon gained considerably by his 'outward practice and traffic.'" Those of the members of the Factory who were in a position to engage in trade had other opportunities for making their fortunes. Though the privilege of private trade was withdrawn in 1657, the country trade between ports east of the Cape of Good Hope was, in 1661, handed over to the Company's servants. "Such was the profit in this trade, that even those of the merchants who had no capital of their own could afford to borrow from native money-lenders, paying

them at the rate of twenty-five per cent. Another source of profit during part of this time was the trade in diamonds, which, though taken away from their servants in 1680, was again restored by the Company in 1698. The new Company (1698) allowed their servants both the privilege of private trade and the right to trade in diamonds."

"At times, from October to March, ships came and went from the Suwali roads near the mouth of the Tapti, and then during the hours of business from ten to noon and again from four till dark, below stairs among the packers and warehouse-keepers it was 'a mere Billingsgate,' and all over the Factory a 'continued hurly-burly.' The rainy season, from June to October, was, to many of the Factory, a less busy time. Then their chief duty was to lay in a stock of cotton-yarn and keep the weavers at their work, so that the supply of cloth might be ready against the season of ships. Even in the busy season, however, the members had their times of rest and holidays. Sent down to the roads at Suwali to meet the ships from Europe, a few days would often be passed pleasantly, hearing the news from England, enjoying the hospitality of the ships' captains, and finding some shooting in the country near Suwali."

"In Surat, 'on solemn days,' after the mid-day banquet was over, the President generally invited the whole Factory abroad 'to some pleasant garden near the city,' where they sat 'shaded from the beams of the sun, and refreshed by the neighbourhood of ponds and waterworks.' Here they listened to music, shot at marks, and enjoyed the society of the ladies of the Factory."

"Besides the Factory establishment of cooks, butlers, and menials, of whom 'every one, according to his quality, had some to wait on him in his chamber and follow him out,' the Chaplain and Members of Council were supplied with four or five men to attend on their coach. There was also a Pundit engaged to teach young Cadets to read and write the native languages, and an Indian doctor to help the English Surgeon, and a body of forty messengers (or chuprassies). When the President moved, 'besides a noise of trumpets, there was a guard of English soldiers consisting of a double file led by a Sergeant, a body of forty Moormen, and a flag-man carrying St. George's colours, swallow-tailed, in silk fastened to a silver partisan.' On solemn days when they went in state to their garden parties, the English 'Lodge'

OLD ENGLISH FACTORY HOUSE AT SURAT.

LAHORE CATHEDRAL

passed through the heart of the city with still more show. On these occasions before the President were carried two large English ensigns; then curious Persian or Arabian horses 'rich in their trappings'; then the Captain of the peons, himself on horse-back, leading a band of forty or fifty attendants on foot; then the Council in large coaches drawn by stately oxen; and last of all, the factors in coaches, or upon horses with saddles of velvet richly embroidered, their head-stalls, reins, and croupers covered with solid wrought silver."

Until well on in the seventeenth century no English woman was allowed by the Company to accompany her husband to India. It would seem that two of the earlier factors, Steele and another, had married, and their two ladies were so troublesome that by the strong advice of Sir Thomas Roe the Company forbade their servants having their wives with them in India. While this enabled this "Chummery" kind of existence to continue for two generations, it unquestionably led to a lowering of moral tone and a great deal of drinking to drive dull care away. Mandelslo speaks rather pathetically of "the hush which fell on the table after dinner, when the President stood up to propose the toast of absent wives, 'God bless them.'"

As regards dress the factors in early days, with true English conservatism, clung to their home style of dress. Sir Thomas Roe seems to have made a point of this, thinking he was more likely to secure respect by keeping to his national costume than by adopting an Indian style. One can easily imagine what tortures our pioneers must have endured in the hot weather and rains in their thick English broad-cloth breeches, and above all in their wigs, until common sense at length came to the rescue and considerations of health and comfort led them to adopt dress made out of the Indian cotton and silk which they exported so largely to England.

Later on, in 1690, we read that "when many of the merchants had their wives living with them, it was usual for the English in Surat not only to wear European clothes, but, as far as possible, to have them made according to the latest fashion. There were tailors in Surat who could fashion coats according to the prevailing mode in England; and ladies found native artistes able to contrive their towering head-dresses with as much skill as if the head-dresses had been an Indian fashion, or as if the tailors themselves had been apprentices at the Royal Exchange."

In Surat the early Europeans would seem to have lived on somewhat familiar terms with the natives. According to Ovington, "their grand style of living made the native governors and other persons in high position value their friendship, and place an honour on their intimacy and acquaintance." The factors, too, were hospitable, entertaining natives, at least Musalmans, at their own tables, and in turn dining with them, imitating, when they did so, the customs of the East in lying round the banquet upon Persian carpets.

The factors kept open house and were always ready to welcome travellers. On one occasion we read of a Portuguese hidalgo or nobleman, who came to stay at the Factory House, Surat. He had left Goa, according to his own account, after killing several persons in duels. Shortly after his arrival at the Factory he informed his hosts that he had left Goa "because he was tired of living among Christians." When informed by one of the factors that the English claimed to belong to that category, he calmly replied, "By —— it is the first time I ever heard it." Doubtless this reflected the general opinion of the Portuguese about the English and their Reformed Church at that time.

Another strange personality who visited the Factory at Surat in the seventeenth century was Thomas Coryate, better known as the Odcomb Leg-stretcher. Coryate had formerly been a kind of Jester at the Court of King James I. in London. This strange being, after walking from one end of Europe to the other, and having hung up his shoes in Odcomb Church as a memorial of this "trek," again started eastwards, intending to walk round the world. Like Oliver Goldsmith, he lived on the countries through which he passed. Having passed through Palestine and Syria, he made his way down the valley of the Tigris to Bagdad. From there on foot he continued his journey across Persia, Beluchistan, and the Punjab to the Court of the Emperor Jahangir, where for a time he seems to have been a source of annoyance to Sir Thomas Roe, but of considerable amusement to the Emperor and his Court. During his stay in Surat after a late night he was taken ill and died. Terry the Chaplain wrote the following epitaph on his grave :—

"Here lies the wanderer of his age,
Who living did rejoice
To make his life a pilgrimage,
Not out of need, but choice."

We should give but a one-sided impression of the life of our pioneers in Surat were we to make no reference to the difficulties and dangers to which they were from time to time exposed. It is clear that while the Directors of the East India Company fully recognized the importance of making the life of the exiles as comfortable and home-like as possible while they were within the walls of the Factory House at Surat, they were unable to secure such happy conditions for those factors of theirs who were stationed in the smaller Factories. The lives of the men must have been lonely, monotonous, and by no means free from danger.

These were certainly difficult days for the Englishman in India. In the first place there existed a constant and bitter rivalry between them and the other trading countries—Dutch, French, and Portuguese. Woe betide the unhappy Englishman who fell into the hands of the Portuguese in those early days!

There was also an almost constant friction between our merchants and the native Governors of Surat. These officials, whose period of office was always brief, used every effort during their short innings to enrich themselves by exorbitant demands, which if not acceded to, were used as reasons for bringing our trade to a standstill.

Later on in the century it must be admitted that the Mughal authorities had some reason for suspecting the good faith of the English. Pirate vessels manned by Englishmen, and often sailing under the English flag, ravaged the Mughal shipping on the west coast of India, and in spite of all the Company's denials of complicity in this nefarious practice, it was hard at times for the Mughal officials not to hold them in some sense responsible for their losses, more especially as the Company's vessels were seldom, if ever, attacked.

Again, as the Mughal power began to decline during the reign of Aurungzebe, a new danger to peace and settled government appeared in the form of Sivaji and his Mahratta hordes. Early in his career the eyes of this daring chieftain were fixed on Surat, which was at this time a city of enormous wealth, and which, apart from its fort by the river-side, was practically unprotected on the land side.

On Sivaji's first appearance at Surat in 1664, the Mughal Governor took fright very badly and shut himself up in his castle. The only persons who then offered any resistance were the English and Dutch merchants, who,

having armed all their retainers, not only saved their own property but also a considerable part of the native city. So pleased indeed was Aurungzebe at the courage of the English in this matter, that he granted them an entire remission of custom duties for a year, amounting to £2500, and afterwards an abatement of 1 per cent. on all duty levied.

It gives one some idea of the enormous wealth of Surat, when we read that on this occasion Sivaji "carried off not less than a million sterling, and that in one shop alone he found twenty-two pounds weight of strung pearls." Again and again he seems to have returned to Surat whenever his coffers needed replenishment, and so great was the dread of him that even the English, before his annual visitations, sent their treasure on board ships and the townspeople forsook it in large numbers. That they had good reason for their fear is pretty evident when one reads a letter written by a Chaplain named L'Escaillot to Sir Thomas Brown, dated January 26, 1663–64, and now registered in No. 1860 folio 5 of the Sloane MSS. in the British Museum. He says in his letter: "The English President, Sir John Oxindon, a most worthy discreet courageous person," took effectual measures for the defence of the Company's premises. Anthony Smith, "a servant of the Companyes, one whoe hath been chif in severall factoryes," was taken prisoner as he came ashore, and barely escaped with his life. A man having failed in a bold attempt to kill Sivaji, "the crye went, Kill the prisoners, whereupon some were miserably hacked," the survivors being brought up to judgment. "Sevajee, according as it came in his mind, caused them to cutt of this man's head, that man's right hand, both the hands of a third. It comes to Mr. Smith turne, and his right hand being commanded to bee cutt of, hee cryed out in Indostan to Sevajee rather cutt of his head, unto which end his hatt was taken of, but Sevajee stopt execution and so praised be God hee escaped. There were then about four heads and 24 hands cutt of after that Mr. Smith was come away."

The Chaplain then proceeds to give a detailed and sickening description of the way in which these hands were cut off, the instrument used being a blunt knife. After reading it we can understand Smith preferring decapitation.

And now for a word or two about the part which the Chaplain played in the life of this strange community.

"The Chaplain," we read, "was a prominent figure in

Factory life. He received £100 a year, with diet and convenient lodgings, a peon to attend him in his chamber, and the command of a coach or horse at any time he thinks fit to use them, besides many private gifts from merchants and masters of ships, who seldom fail of some valuable oblation to him, or rarity of the place they come from, and the noble large gratuities which he constantly receives for officiating at Marriages, Baptisms, and Burials." He did not, however, live an idle life. "The Minister is obliged to a public discourse once, and public prayers thrice on Sunday, and to read prayers morning and evening in the Chapel each other day in the week, viz. about six in the morning before the factors are called forth to business, and at eight at night, when all is past. He is engaged to catechise all the youth; to visit the subordinate Factories upon the coast of Malabar, at Carwar, Calicut, etc., and to give instructions for their administration of Divine Service in his absence." The Chapel where they meet at prayers is within the Factory, "decently embellished so as to render it both neat and solemn, without the figure of any living creature in it for avoiding all occasion of offence to the Moors, who are well pleased with the innocence of our worship." "For want of a Minister qualified for the administration of Baptism among the Dutch at Surat, they request that favour from the English, who performs it for them in their Chapel, which at first sight might be very well taken for a guard-chamber, because they keep arms in it."

We owe to Penny, in his *Church in Madras,* some interesting information regarding the early Chaplains in Surat. The earliest Chaplain, he tells us, who was appointed by the Directors of the East India Company, was "one the Rev. William Leske. The Directors were well satisfied by his learning and gravity, and of his being able to contest with and hold argument with Jesuits who were then busy at Surat." He went to Surat in 1614, and stayed there for three years. Sir Thomas Roe writes of him an appreciative letter in 1616, but unfortunately later on he was relieved of his charge for unworthy conduct.

It is obvious that the atmosphere of the Factory, where every one was absorbed in money-making, can hardly have made the task of a Chaplain particularly easy.

Great importance was attached, and naturally, to the possession of a good and equable temper on the part of their

Chaplain. One can easily imagine that in the trying Indian climate, with a large body of men living together in this huge "Chummery," and especially over their evening wine-cups, there must have been frequent occasions for irritation and loss of temper, and it was above all things desirable that the Padre should be a man of peace. One reads of more than one instance of Chaplains failing in this respect.

Arnold Wright speaks sympathetically of the troubles which befell the famous Commander Downton at the hands of "a turbulent cleric named the Reverend Peter Rogers," whom he describes (we fancy mistakenly) as the first Chaplain who came to India. It is not altogether easy to decide from Wright's account, which seems unduly biassed in Downton's favour, what exactly Rogers' special faults were beyond the fact that he wrote a strong letter to the Company, speaking of Downton's "old soaked humour," "of his inveterate hatred and continuence where he once takes dislike," and of the fact that "the General is not the man you take him to be touching religion: he always ill-treats his Ministers; he neglects prayer on the week days, and very often on the Sabbath the exercises of religion to the great offence and discouragement of many. He is much given to backbiting, and he has answered my fatherly remonstrances by saying scornfully that he could tell his duty better than I could advise him, and such-like demonstrances of pride and hypocrisy."

Of one Chaplain who stayed eight years in the East, and died on his voyage home, part of which time was spent at Surat, the factors wrote to the Company on his departure in the following terms:—

"Lastly, Mr. Rund, our preacher, is the conclusive passenger of note who hath lovingly this last Sabbath included us in his hearty prayers." "He hath lived among us peacefully without any touch of spleen or faction. His function he hath ever observed conformably and his life no way deserving public reproach, though not free from imbecilities, as in all of us might be wished a bettering."

In 1617 the Company engaged the Rev. Thomas Friday, M.A., Emmanuel College, Cambridge, as Chaplain for their Factory at Surat. After serving six years in India, he returned to England in 1623. The glamour of the East had clearly laid hold of him, for he returned to India in 1624, and died in Surat six years later. He is referred to in the Court

Minutes of the Directors as one "Who came home with a good reputation—only some small touch of private trade."

Mr. Friday writes in 1625 to the Company, dwelling on the jealousy between the Dutch, Portuguese, and English who were contending for the trade of the East, and deploring the extreme measures they adopted towards one another in the Eastern seas in consequence of that jealousy. Of the Dutch, Terry the Chaplain also wrote as follows :—

"This I can say of the Dutch, that when I lived in those parts and we English there were more for the number than they and consequently could receive no hurt from them, we then used them as neighbours and brethren ; but in other places, where they had the like advantage of us, they dealt with us neither like Christians nor men."

Of the Rev. Henry Goulding, another of the early Surat Chaplains, we know but little, save that his family had considerable landed property in Essex, and that before coming to India he was private Chaplain to a nobleman. He was certainly not a favourite in Surat, for the factors in their home letter, 1618, describe him as "the gentlewomen's Chaplain," and added that "so long as the Company choose preachers recommended by noblemen's letters, how can they expect to be served better ?"

Arnold Wright tells a story of him, how that "when a request which he had preferred to accompany Mrs. Hawkins and her English maid, the wife of Richard Steele, to Ahmedabad had been refused, he disguised himself in Moor's apparel and surreptitiously joined the ship in which the ladies were sailing."

One of the best known of these early Indian Chaplains was the Rev. Patrick Copeland, who made several voyages to India between 1612 and 1619. He seems to have been deeply imbued with a Missionary spirit, and is referred to in the Court Minutes as "that worthy preacher" and as "a sober discreet man." Copeland made very genuine endeavours while in the service of the Company to bring about a better feeling between the English and the Dutch, and even expostulated with the Dutch for their unfriendliness as well as for their jealousy of the English merchants. He reminded them of the assistance given to them by the English against the Spaniards at home, and added, "Now you are free from the Spaniard at home you fall out with your friends abroad."

He also was bold enough to blame the English Commanders for quarrelling with the Dutch, and preached a sermon on one of the Company's ships which caused the Commander to complain that the effect of his preaching was to imperil the fighting spirit of his crew. This charge was duly examined in London, and Copeland had to appear before the Court of Directors in Leadenhall Street. The plain fact was that any endeavour to stop the quarrels and jealousies existing between the Dutch and the English at that time was almost useless and most unpopular. The brutal murder, after torture, of a body of English sailors at Amboyna, the chief of the Spice Islands in the Dutch East Indies, by the Dutch Governor Van Speult, left such an impression of the Dutchman's callous cruelty that it took generations to efface it. The Directors were obviously on the side of the Commander, for, while acknowledging the goodness of Copeland's intentions, they would not offer him another appointment.

During one of his voyages to India, Copeland had met with an Indian boy in Bengal whom he prepared for baptism. This boy was brought by him to England, but before baptising him he felt it right to ask for permission from the Directors of the London Company. The Court referred " this weighty matter " to no less a person than the Archbishop of Canterbury, who after due consideration gave it as his opinion that there was no reason why the Indian boy should not be baptised. King James I. was therefore asked to name the child and gave him the name of Peter. Peter was duly baptised on December 2, 1616, in one of the old City Churches, in the presence of some members of the Privy Council, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London and certain members of the East India Company. He was baptised by the simple name of Peter, but later on seems to have adopted the surname of Pope.

Of another of the Surat Chaplains, the Rev. Thomas Fuller, B.A., Pembroke College, Cambridge, 1612, we read that he was sent to Suwali, a small Factory close to Surat, on the Bombay coast. The Chief of the Factory had a high opinion of him, as is evident from the fact that he informed the Company that " Mr. Fuller supplied his room with the goodwill of all men," and added, " we would have kept him, but he was not very willing to stay ; we are bold to entreat in his behalf, if he is willing to come back ; his doctrine and

life being so exemplary as we doubt of his like." In another letter of the same year they say, "Mr. Fuller our Minister has at last been persuaded to stay. We doubt not a man of his quality and demeanour will draw a blessing upon our labours surpassing the Company's charge by his detention."

Of other of the Chaplains of that early period it is to be regretted that we do not have so favourable an account. One of the Chaplains who had matriculated at Trinity College, Oxford, and had been sent to one of the Factories in Persia, was rebuked by the Chief Agent at Ispahan for dice-playing, and is referred to when writing to the Company, as "their criminal Minister, who with their critical agent Monnox and their infernal physician Strachan formed a triple conspiracy against merchantly carriage and good manners."

Of another of the Chaplains, the Rev. George Collins, who remained four years in Ispahan, the Company's Agent wrote :—

"His country travels have quite disheartened him for any longer residence, therefore he is departing, he supposes, to seek a place of more ease ; not that we do not desire the conversation of an upright man that might guide us in the true way, but do not much sorrow for his miss, we have more addo to accommodate these Ministers to their desires than most the factors besides ; they are so troublesome. The two that have been here in Gibson's time the tenderest chickens we ever met ; and unless hereafter they are hardier, to be plain, we had rather have their room than their company."

It must have been a most difficult matter for the Directors of the Company to find the sort of Clergy suitable for the peculiar life which Englishmen had to live in India in those days. It is clear that in early days long intervals elapsed before Chaplains were appointed to fill vacancies caused by death in a country where the uncertainties of life were very great. As time went on, however, the authorities in London realised more fully the importance of the work of their Chaplains, and even appealed to the English Universities to help them in their quest for the best men.

Of the Clergy who came East some were doubtless animated by the same high motives which impelled the best men at home to enter the sacred ministry of the Church.

A few, too, were men of a scholarly type like Terry, Henry Lord, and Samuel Crook, a distinguished Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, who came East to pursue his Oriental studies. Some were of an adventurous type, prepared to run risks to see the wonders of the gorgeous East; but of others it would seem they belonged to that type of persons for whom life at home had no great attractions, and who shared the same worldly hopes as the factors to whom they ministered of shaking the pagoda tree and returning to their own native land to enjoy its fruits.

It would be hard to pass Surat by without some mention, at least by name, of its more distinguished factors and Presidents. Of the earlier factors and Chiefs little or nothing need be said. They were men of a rough type, brave and determined, but obviously residing in the East for the purpose of making money. One of the least satisfactory features in the characters of some like Sir John Child and Sir Nicholas Waite was their willingness, from motives of spite, revenge, or rivalry, to betray one another to the Mughal Governor or his emissaries.

Fortunately for England's reputation, there were some bright stars, however, amongst them who have left names behind of which their country may be justly proud. Of Sir George Oxenden, Gerald Aungier, and Streynsham Master, who can speak too highly? They were great and good men who, while they looked after the interests of their Company, never forgot their duty towards the natives of India as well as their duty towards their God.

Few spots in India exceed in interest the old English Cemetery at Surat, where the ashes of many of the pioneers rest. "The manner of our burying is so decent," says an old writer, "that the natives (who are also very decent in that particular), though they may not come near a dead corpse by reason that they esteem it a polluting or defiling themselves, yet they will behold our burials, and at the funeral of Sir George Oxenden, the street, balconies and tops of the houses were so full as they could stand one by another."

Unlike the simple monuments in our cemeteries at home, the factors, copying largely from their Mahomedan neighbours, "succeeded in raising such stately piles that many of them looked more like mosques or royal tombs than the resting-place of foreign traders." On one quite unostentatious

monument in the cemetery we read the following inscription :

" Here lies Francis Breton, who, after he had for five years discharged his duties with the greatest diligence and strictest integrity, went unmarried to the celestial nuptials on July 21st, 1649."

Over the remains of Sir George Oxenden and his brother Christopher, who was also an official of the Company, there is a magnificent monument, part of which was provided by Sir George Oxenden at his brother's death, and part by the Company in gratitude for his own services. It is forty-five feet high with an inside diameter of not less than twenty-five feet, and bears the following striking inscription :

" Here is laid Christopher Oxenden, in his life a pattern of fair dealing, in his death a proof of the frailty of life.

" He comes and he is gone. Here he ended his ventures and his life.

" Days only, not years, could he enter in his accounts, for of a sudden death called him to a reckoning.

" Do you ask, my masters, what is your loss and what your gain ?

" You have lost a servant, we a companion, by his life ; but against this can he write ' Death to me is gain.' "

CHAPTER II

MADRAS, OUR FIRST SETTLEMENT IN INDIA, 1640—1700

Period.—England: Charles I., Commonwealth and the Restoration. India: Aurungzebe and rise of Mahratta power.

Books of Reference.—*The Church in Madras*, by the Rev. Frank Penny; *Vestiges of Old Madras*, by Col. H. D. Love, R.E.; *Early English Adventurers in the East*, by Arnold Wright; *A New Account of the East Indies*, by Hamilton.

THE period which preceded the establishment of Madras, our first Settlement in India, was a most disastrous one to the East India Company. Dutch rivalry, backed by a Dutch fleet greatly superior to ours in those waters, had practically deprived us of our trade in the Eastern Archipelago, and the valuable spice trade which had originally brought our traders East passed almost entirely into their hands. At our Factories in India, especially in Surat, things were not going particularly well. Dutch rivalry followed us everywhere, having taken on temporarily "the form of selling goods at rates below cost price." It was clear to our merchants in India, though not so clear to the Court of Directors in London, that something must be done to secure our rights, if we were not sooner or later to be driven out of the East altogether.

For there were certain almost fatal objections to the Factory system under which we carried on our trade at that time. To have to live in Factories within the actual territories of trade rivals who might at any time become active enemies was to expose ourselves to difficulties which were both humiliating and disastrous. It was for lack of one or two strongly fortified settlements that the Dutch had been able to deprive us of our share in the spice trade in the Eastern Archipelago; and before a generation had passed the exactions of the Mughal Governor made our factors anxious to quit Surat altogether.

Early in 1640 Francis Day, the leading Factor at Armagon, a small Factory on the Coromandal Coast near Masulipatam,

arranged with the Rajah of Negapatam, the last representative of the famous Vijayanagar dynasty, to grant us a small freehold at Madrasapatam on the Coromandal Coast. It was " the first land held in full sovereignty by the English east of Suez, the germ from which the mighty British dominions in the East finally developed."

No time was lost in fortifying this small possession, and in due time Fort St. George became quite a strong fort. When first founded, Madras, like the Factory at Masulipatam, was under the Factory at Bantam in Java, but in a few years this arrangement was changed and it passed under the authority of the President at Surat.

From the first the English merchants and their dependents lived inside the Fort. At that time the Company had no English soldiers in Madras, and employed Portuguese mercenary troops. These soldiers were made to live within the Fort along with their wives and families, an arrangement which later on was the cause of a good deal of trouble. The fact that there were no Englishwomen in the Settlement soon led the young factors to cultivate the society of these Portuguese Eurasians, and in due course mixed marriages followed. Then began the usual trouble with which we to-day are as familiar as were they. The French Roman Catholic Padres used all their influence to induce the young merchants to change their religion, and even baptised their children secretly.

As there was no resident English Chaplain in Madras, little resistance could be offered to their mischievous propaganda. The historian Kaye tells us that on the establishment of the Fort St. George Factory the factors made use of the services of a certain Capuchin Friar, who was apparently extremely broad-minded. When what he had done became known at Goa, the unfortunate man had to pay the penalty for his toleration in thus accommodating his ministry to the convenience of the Settlement by suffering five years' imprisonment at the hands of the Inquisition at Goa.

So strong became the feeling against these French Padres, when Mr. Isaacson was Chaplain, that nearly the whole of the English community petitioned Mr. Chambers, the President of Madras, to order all Portuguese women and children to live outside the Fort. Mr. Chambers was unwilling to accede to this petition, more especially because he was convinced that if he did so all his Portuguese mercenaries would resign

in a body and leave the Settlement unprotected. Mr. Isaacson, however, in 1656 sent an appeal direct to London to the Court of Directors, with the result that they sent out the following strongly worded despatch :—

" We have received several information and complaints of many evil practices which have been exercised in our town of Madras by the French Padres, which are not to be tolerated where the Protestant religion is professed, viz. their marching to the Burial-place before the dead corpse with Bell, Book, Candle, and Cross,—intending to visit such persons in their sicknesses who have professed the Protestant Religion,—endeavouring to seduce them to their idolatrous customs of praying to Saints, etc., as also to baptise the children of Englishmen immediately on their coming into the world ;—we having taken these things into our serious considerations have resolved, and strictly require you that you do not permit or suffer in any wise the said French Padres or any others within the limits of our power publicly to make any processions or ceremonies or walking before any dead corpse with Bell, Book, Candle, Cross, or any of them, or to baptise any English infants, or to visit any English that it shall please God to afflict with sickness, either in our Fort or within the town, thereby to confess or seduce them to their Popish vanities. And therefore that those particulars may be punctually observed, we do desire that you do not only give the said Padres notice of them, but that also you take especial care that they be duly and constantly observed ; and that they presume not to exercise any of their ceremonies whatsoever without the confines of their own walls. We do further require that, for the preservation of the health of our people, and for the prevention of infectious diseases, you order them to forbear to bury any more corpses in their usual Burying-place or churchyard (within the Fort), the smell whereof is very noisome in the time of heats to those who live near that place ; but that they find out some place without our town and there to inter all their dead."

Madras, as we have seen, was actually founded in 1640, but it was not until 1647 that the first Chaplain, Mr. Isaacson, was appointed. He had been at Surat since 1644, and it seems that when he was first appointed to Madras he disliked the change so greatly that he wrote a complaint to his father, who occupied a high position in the City of London. His

father's request that he should be re-transferred to Surat was granted, but as the order did not reach Mr. Isaacson for a year, and as he apparently had grown during this time to like Madras greatly, he seems to have lingered on in Madras six months longer than he needed. That he became popular in Madras is evident from the fact that the President and Council, when writing of him to the Court in London, wrote as follows: "Since even the very opinion of the President and Council as of all others, that such a civil and well-governed man is as much, if not more, necessary for the religious order and reputation of this place, where you have so many servants and other Christians living under your command, and wanting instructions as any other Factories in India whatsoever; we doubt not of prevailing with your said President and Council to admit of his continuance here before we shall have any ship to transport him thither; until you please to send out such another (although none for comportment and language can fit this place better than Mr. Isaacson); and not to be offended at this our reasonable request which is so considerably necessary for the good of your servants, and repute of your town, whose inhabitants as well as our neighbours are apt to observe how much your worships seem to slight this place in so small a matter."

William Isaacson returned to Surat in 1648, and was there for two years. He then went on leave, and on his return to India was again stationed at Madras, where we find him in 1654 to 1657. He seems to have entirely got over his early prejudice against Madras.

The second Chaplain to be appointed to Madras was the Rev. Robert Winchester. We read that the Court was "very well satisfied concerning his ability and demeanour." On his departure for England he was succeeded by the Rev. Joseph Thomson, who had been Chaplain of Bantam. During his period of service a serious quarrel took place between one of the factors, John Leigh, and a certain Captain Martin. Martin was a Royalist and Leigh a Puritan. Though the Company did all in its power to prevent politics entering into its Settlements and Factories, it was hardly possible to prevent the factors expressing their opinions, especially when feeling ran as high as it did during the period of the Commonwealth and Restoration. Martin was accused of saying "that the Presbyterians had

taken away the King and the Bishops, that the Independents had taken away the Presbyterians, and that he hoped that the Devil will take away the Independents." Thomson the Chaplain was cited as witness: he very wisely refused to take either side. While Captain Martin was described in a letter to the Company as a "dangerous, quarrelsome, insulting person, with whom it was not possible to live peaceably," Leigh seems to have been a decidedly mean and mischief-making person. We read of him accusing various factors of cheating, on which an inquiry was held which resulted in his being imprisoned in his own room for fourteen days!

When Isaacson retired in 1660 he was succeeded by the Rev. William Whitefield, a man of a scholarly type. He called the attention of the Agent to the fact that there was no library in the Settlement, and that he himself had need of one. The merchants in Madras responded to his appeal and collected a sum of money for this purpose. With this money they purchased a bale of calico which they sent in one of their ships to be sold in London. The sale realised £85, with which books were purchased and sent to India.

Penny, to whom our Church owes a deep debt of gratitude for his really monumental *History of the Church in Madras*, calls attention to the fact that the Court in London were unfortunately too ready to give heed to unfavourable reports about their servants in India. Some one in 1663 had given the Directors an unfavourable impression of the then President of Madras, Sir Edward Winter. The Directors in London, in view of what they heard, sent out the following despatch, dated December 16, 1663:—

"Notwithstanding we, in our instructions given our said Agent, did in the first place recommend unto his due observation the promoting of the worship and service of the Almighty as that which would bring a blessing along with it on all other his actions if conscionably performed, he hath (as we are informed) neglected the same. And instead of exercising himself and those under his charge in the Protestant Religion, he rather countenanceth and encourageth the Popish Mass, to the great dishonour of Almighty God and reproach to the Protestant Profession."

The President in his reply cites Mr. Whitefield, the Chaplain, as a witness to its untruth. He speaks as follows:—

"As touching your Worships' last accusation, your information is so ridiculous a falsity that your Agent almost thinks it better to answer it with silence; therefore we will say no more than this, that Mr. Whitefield, who was our Minister, can testify to your Worships that your Agent constantly himself attended public prayers, except some days during the Church's repair, and commanded all under him so to do, and punished them with an amercement if they neglected, in so much that thereby we have a small stock of money gathered for the poor; and for the Popish religion, he hath publicly shown his distaste against it by banishing the town two of their Bishops, who would have been tampering with some who were baptised into our Religion; and the same party had something left (by one that is gone home) to enjoy it so long as they kept the Protestant Religion; whereupon your Agent permitted them not to possess it, unless they would renounce the Romish Church and come constantly to ours; which they, performing, do enjoy their estate again. Thus your Worships have received an answer to your charge against your Agent, etc.

(Signed) Edward Winter.
William Gyfford.
Jeremy Sambrooke.
William Dawes."

Mr. Whitefield was succeeded by the Rev. Symon Smithees. In the letter of instructions given to Mr. Smithees before leaving for India the following occurs:—

"When it shall please God to arrive you at Fort St. George, let it be your great care to instruct our people in the way to heaven and happiness, and to that purpose to be constant in prayers and good admonitions daily as occasion shall be offered; more especially let the Sabbath be sanctified by preaching and prayer with all due reverence, as becometh the servants of the Lord of Sabbaths, who will doubtless bless and crown your good and faithful endeavours in his services with happiness here and glory hereafter.

"In the town of Madras you will find several Priests and others of the Romish Religion. And because we doubt not but you are a well-grounded champion in our Protestant profession, we would have you, as opportunity may present, entertain a controversy or dispute with them in opposition to their Popish ceremonies and Sacraments; although it may

not so far prevail upon them as to a reformation, yet it may be for the confirming of our own people to be constant in the Protestant profession according to the rules and directions in the Holy Scriptures."

During his period as Chaplain the young Settlement was stirred to the depths by an event which must here be briefly recorded. At this particular period there were in Madras of the Company's service the Agent or President, six factors, the Surgeon, the Commandant of the Garrison, twenty-four English soldiers, a few British and Portuguese Eurasians, together with a small number of English and Eurasian women and children. As the Directors had continued to receive unfavourable reports of Sir Edward Winter, not only on account of his religious laxity but also because of his aggrandisement, they determined to supersede him. His time for retirement was to have occurred in 1665. They determined, however, to cut his term of office short, and in December 1664 sent out Mr. George Foxcroft to take his place. The instructions to Foxcroft were: "Sir Edward to be next to you in Counsell, and to sit at your end of the table on the left hand of you our Agent." Sir Edward Winter and his friends naturally resented his supersession without giving him any chance of replying to his accusers. Not long after Mr. Foxcroft's arrival Winter and his party accused Foxcroft, who was a Puritan, of disloyalty to the King, and having won over the soldiers of the garrison to their side, attacked and overpowered Foxcroft and his party. In the struggle one of Foxcroft's party was killed and several wounded. Foxcroft himself was overpowered and imprisoned along with his son. In spite of all the Company's endeavours to oust him, Winter held on to the post of President for three years, while the real President remained a prisoner. It would seem that the authorities at Surat actually sided with Winter, as did also the Chaplain, Symon Smithees. The feeling of the Company's servants was all with the King. Indeed, it appears that Smithees had some share in the trouble.

Three years afterwards, when the British fleet arrived at Madras, Sir Edward Winter resigned his self-appointed Governorship and was later on allowed to return to England with the considerable fortune which he had amassed. The unfortunate Foxcroft was also dismissed, and Sir William Langhorne was appointed in his stead.

It gives one some idea of the remoteness of India at that time, that a state of such deliberate lawlessness could have continued for so long a period. Doubtless Sir Edward Winter was a man of exceptional ability, and though he took good care to look after his own interests, it is evident that he did not neglect the Company's. He, advocated, however, a strong forward policy in trade which at that time the Court of Directors in London were not prepared to face.

The next two Chaplains to be appointed to Madras were William Thomson, a Presbyterian, who was ordered to reside at the Fort, and Mr. Walter Hooke, a Nonconformist, who was to reside at Masulipatam, if not needed at Madras. Up to 1670 the East India Company had only appointed men in full English Orders as Chaplains. There came a change during the period of the Commonwealth, when non-Anglicans like Thomson and Hooke were appointed. Mr. Hooke, who bore a high reputation for piety and learning, refused to read our Book of Common Prayer. He seems to have been a man of moral courage, for we read of his reproving "Mr. Fleetwood, Chief of Madapallam, for swearing," whereupon this gentleman, who is described "as the enemy of all goodness," drew his sword and threatened to slay him!

It is quite clear that these Nonconformist Chaplains were not popular, as the majority of the merchants in India were certainly not Puritans and had little or no sympathy with Nonconformity. Neither Mr. Thomson nor Mr. Hooke remained long in India, the former returning to England the following year, and the latter dying at Masulipatam in December, 1669.

Among all the Presidents of Madras, the name of Streynsham Master (whom we have heard of before at Surat) stands out pre-eminently as a man of strong religious conviction and devotion to the English Church. During his period of office we read of his visiting the Factories "in the Bay" at Hoogley and Balasore, and introducing some of those rules which had already been introduced by his means at Surat. Amongst them occur the following :—

(1) For absence from the Factory at night without leave, a day in the stocks.

(2) Twelve pence fine for failure to attend Matins and Evensong.

The greatest event which happened from the Church point of view during Mr. Streynsham Master's period of

office as President of Madras was the building and consecration of St. Mary's Church in the Fort. This Church was built almost entirely by money raised privately in Madras.

Up to this period the Company's Chaplains, when coming to India, had not received any licence from the Bishop of London (the first licence issued by him to Indian Chaplains bearing the date 1685). It was therefore necessary for the Bishop of London to license the Rev. Richard Portman before he could issue to him a Commission to consecrate the Church.

On the 28th day of October 1680, St. Simon and St. Jude's Day, all the English inhabitants in Madras met in the new Church for the solemn event of its consecration. It was a great day in the Settlement, especially for the President, through whose faith and courage many difficulties had been overcome with regard to the erection as well as the consecration of the building.

Shortly after this notable event Streynsham Master resigned his Presidentship owing to differences of opinion with Sir Josiah Child, who was then all-powerful with the Court of Directors in London. Later on he joined the new Company, to the serious loss of the old.

St. Mary's was not by any means the first Christian Church in India, as the Roman Catholics as well as the Dutch Reformed had built Churches in their Settlements long before. It was, however, the first English Church in India, and it had the effect of making both Bombay and Calcutta follow its lead. Needless to say, St. Mary's is from every point of view, especially in its old monuments, one of the most interesting of our Churches in India.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century the East India Company seem to have directly encouraged the English soldiers in Madras to take unto themselves Indian wives. Their motives for so doing were partly to check the grave temptations to immorality to which the soldiers were exposed, and partly for political and social reasons, as the children of Indian women would be much more amenable to authority than those of Portuguese Roman Catholics. If to-day Madras has a larger Eurasian population than either Calcutta or Bombay, its beginnings may be traced back to this early period. A despatch from the Court of Directors in London on this subject, dated April 8, 1687, is particularly interesting. It runs as follows :—

"The marriage of our soldiers to the native women of Fort St. George, formerly recommended by you, is a matter of such consequence to posterity that we shall be content to encourage it with some expense, and have been thinking for the future to appoint a pagoda to be paid to the mother of any child that shall hereafter be born of any such future marriage upon the day the child is christened, if you think this small encouragement will increase the number of such marriages; but if you think it will not have any considerable effect that way, we had better keep our money, which we leave to your consideration with the liberty to do therein as you shall think best."

The chief difficulties to which the trade of the Company in India was at this time exposed arose from two different causes. There were those who resented deeply the terms of the charter which had given to the London Company practically exclusive right to trade with the East, and who in consequence carried on trade in their own ships in defiance of the charter. It was well known that there were leading men in the political and social world in England who heartily sympathised with these so-called "Interlopers." One such person, Sir William Courten, who was a favourite at Court, obtained a private charter from King Charles II., and for a short time ran his ships to India in defiance of the Company's charter. His charter, however, was afterwards taken from him.

But the Company had worse foes even than the "Interlopers." Those were the days of almost unlimited piracy. While one cannot help having some sort of admiration for the daring of many of these wild sea-dogs who despised danger, one cannot blind one's eyes to the fact that they were often guilty of great cruelty, and that they brought serious discredit upon the name of England in the East. Pirates, often sailing under the English flag, infested the Indian Ocean and roved the high seas from Mauritius to Surat.

It is a painful thing to have to admit that at times during the seventeenth century the example set by the English in the East was so bad that, according to Terry the Chaplain, the natives of India formed a mean estimate of Christianity. "It was not an uncommon thing," he wrote, "to hear them at Surat giving utterance to such remarks as 'Christian religion, devil religion; Christian much drink;

Christian much do wrong, much beat, much abuse others.'" Terry admitted that the natives themselves were "very square and exact to make good all their engagements"; but if a dealer was offered much less for his articles than the price which he named, he would be apt to say, "What! Dost thou think me a Christian, that I would go about to deceive thee?"

Thomas Pitt, when President at Madras towards the end of the seventeenth century, also writes in the same strain:—

"When the Europeans first settled in India, they were mightily admired by the natives, believing they were as innocent as themselves; but since by their example they are grown very crafty and cautious, and no people better understand their own interest, so that it was easier to effect that in one year which you shan't do now in a century, and the more obliging your management, the more jealous they are of you.

"The thirst for riches, the unscrupulous efforts of ambition, the reckless violence which often struck Hindus with terror, all these were a disgrace to the English."

Of the Presidents of Madras in these early days two at least deserve some mention, viz. Elihu Yale and Thomas Pitt. Mrs. Penny, in her novel *Diamonds*, gives us an interesting picture of life in Madras during the Presidency of the former, 1687–1692. Her description of Elihu Yale reveals him as the wise, kindly and thoughtful Governor which he is generally admitted to have been. His public munificence as well as his private acts of charity were great and numerous. No one except it be Governor Pitt worked more actively and successfully for the improvement of the young Settlement. To him Madras owed a new and much better appointed Hospital. In this connection it is interesting to note that the first Hospital in Madras was run largely out of Church funds, in which were included fines for the rather frequent violations of Sunday observance. Later on the Company undertook all financial responsibility for the Hospital. Yale it was who purchased for the Company a place called Tevenapatam, to the south of Madras, which was duly fortified and was destined to play an important part in subsequent history. The Fort at Tevenapatam, now called Cuddalore, was named St. David after Elihu Yale's little son David, who to the grief of every one, died in his infancy.

Mrs. Penny also throws interesting side-lights on several matters which were unquestionably of great interest to the English residents at that period in Madras and other parts of India. She makes it clear that the "Interlopers" or "Free traders," as they were frequently called, were by no means as hateful to the Company's servants in India as they were to the Court of Directors in Leadenhall Street; and it is evident that there was a good deal of friendly social intercourse between them and the merchants of the Company in Madras. It is clear too that the trade in diamonds, which was more extensive in Madras than elsewhere owing to its proximity to the diamond-mines of Golconda, led even the most respected merchants of the Company to acts of a very questionable kind.

There was also a very seamy side to what on the surface seems a pleasant and conventional life, owing to secret and illicit traffic in slaves. Probably the Dutch were the worst offenders in this respect, and the description given by Mrs. Penny of Piet Vandenburgh, with his outward profession of religion, his brutal and callous cruelty, and his deliberate deceit, represents, one imagines, very faithfully the feelings of the English towards the Dutch at that period.

Elihu Yale remained in India for seven years after resigning office, and having amassed an enormous fortune left India for England in 1699. Shortly afterwards he was made Governor of the British Colony of New York. His name is commemorated in America, the land of his birth, by the University of Yale, which he largely endowed. His tombstone runs as follows:

> "Elihu Yale was buried 22nd July 1721.
> Born in America, in Europe bred,
> In Africa travelled, in Asia wed,
> Where long he lived and thrived—in London dead.
> Much good, some ill, he did, so hope's all even,
> And that his soul through mercie's gone to heaven."

Nor can we forbear to mention another remarkable personality of those days who, beginning his career as an "Interloper," finished it as Governor of Madras. Thomas Pitt, second son of the Rev. John Pitt, Rector of Blandford, Dorset, was born in 1653. While still young he came out to India independently of the Company, and lived as a "Free trader" at Balasore in Orissa. Here he remained for ten years, during which time he constantly went in his

vessels in pursuit of trade up the Persian Gulf. Returning to England while still comparatively young, he settled in Dorset, and was elected as member of Parliament for New Sarum. He is described by the Company at this period as a " daring huffing man," by which one understands that he was determined to fight for his own rights. Later on Pitt came to terms with the Company, and in 1698 was appointed Governor of Fort St. George for a term of five years. This period was afterwards extended, so that his Governorship covered the unprecedented term of eleven years. It was the period which proved to be the golden age of Madras in respect of trade and increase of wealth. Pitt did a great deal to improve Madras and strengthen its fortifications. He was a famous gardener and did much in the way of planting and improving the town. He was also a big diamond fancier and on one occasion purchased a magnificent diamond for £20,000, which he eventually disposed of to the Regent of France for £135,000. On his return to England he purchased large properties in various parts of the country, and was repeatedly elected member for his old constituency. In the year 1680 he married Jane Innes at Hoogley, and by her had three sons and two daughters. His eldest son Robert was the father of William Pitt, first Earl of Chatham and one of England's greatest statesmen. Thomas Pitt undoubtedly possessed immense force of character and daring. He was, we read, never so happy as when dealing with difficult situations. On his return to England he was known as " the great President."

That our Church was slow to enter on the work of the evangelisation of India is a fact much to be deplored, though the reasons which in the main prevented it are not always fully understood. What, however, is not known is that in the seventeenth century there were Churchmen in England who felt very keenly our duty in this matter. As early as 1660 Richard Baxter, the author of *The Saint's Everlasting Rest*, had devised a scheme of evangelisation which was taken up later on by the Hon. Robert Boyle, himself a Director of the East India Company. Boyle had opened his heart to Dr. Fell, Bishop of Oxford, who favoured the idea so warmly that he undertook to have men trained at Oxford in Arabic for the work.

There is an interesting letter to Archbishop Sancroft

of Canterbury from Bishop Fell, bearing on this matter, dated the 21st June, 1681. Speaking of his conversation with Boyle, he writes, "It so happened that he fell into the discourse of the East India Company, and I enlarged upon the shame that lay upon us, who had so great opportunities by our commerce in the East, that we had attempted nothing towards the conversion of the natives, when not only the Papists but even the Hollanders had laboured herein."

This scheme was taken up warmly at first, and Sir Josiah Child, who was then all-powerful in the Court of Directors, was quite favourable to it. Dr. Fell's death, however, shortly afterwards, the lapse of the old Company's charter in 1693 (it was renewed for only five years), and the fact that it was found that neither Arabic nor Malayalam, the languages suggested, would have been of the least use in evangelising India, led to its being abandoned. After Dr. Fell's death, Dean Prideaux of Norwich took up the cause of religious work in India very warmly, and succeeded in getting important changes introduced into the new Company's charter. His report is in the library at Lambeth. He points out that while the Dutch do maintain about "thirty Ministers for the converting of poor infidels in their dominions, the East India Company are in these matters negligent." He urged that "a seminary be erected in England for training persons for the work, and that those to be trained be poor boys out of the hospitals of London, whose fortunes could give them no temptations when trained to refuse the work." Under the 1698 charter, which Kaye the historian refers to when he calls the conversion of the Gentoos a "great Parliamentary idea, provided for in the 1698 charter," the following provisions were made :—

"All such Ministers shall be obliged to learn within one year after their arrival the Portuguese language, and shall apply themselves to learn the native language of the country where they shall reside, the better to enable them to instruct the Gentoos that shall be the servants or the slaves of the Company, or of their Agents, in the Protestant Religion.

"In case of the death of any of the said Ministers residing in the East Indies, the place of such Minister so dying shall be supplied by one of the Chaplains out of the

next ships, that shall arrive at or near the place where such Minister shall happen to die."

It is well to bear these facts in mind in the face of what is sometimes said of the constant hostility of the East India Company towards Christian Missions. It is clear that there were periods in its long history when its attitude towards missions was quite favourable.

On one question their attitude never varied, and that was their constant hostility to the attempts which were made by the Roman Church to seduce their merchants and factors from the Reformed Faith. They were willing to leave the Romans alone if they on their part left us alone.

We have already read the appeal which Isaacson, when Chaplain of Madras, had addressed to the Court of Directors, and their reply. Later on the Directors decided to have our Book of Common Prayer translated into Portuguese and sent out to their Chaplains. They believed that if their Portuguese servants, soldiers or civilians, heard the pure Gospel in their own language, they would soon forsake their Popish errors. The Chaplains too were urged to learn the Portuguese language, with a view to their being able to speak to their people and hold services for them.

Shortly before he left India, it was suggested to Elihu Yale that he should build a Church in Madras for the Protestant black people and Portuguese, and so add to his many other acts of munificence. What share Elihu Yale had in bearing the cost of this building is unknown, but the fact remains that a second Church was built towards the end of the seventeenth century.

In view of the frequency of the children of mixed marriages being brought up as Roman Catholics, the Madras Council, in consultation with their Chaplains, ordered "That upon the marriage of a Protestant with a Roman Catholic, both the parties to be married shall solemnly promise before one of the Chaplains of the place, by themselves in person, upon the day of marriage and before the parties shall be married, that all the children by them begotten and borne shall be brought up in the Protestant religion; and herein due care shall always be taken by the overseers of the orphans and the poor."

After the building of St. Mary's Church in 1680 till the end of the century, when the new Company was formed, the number of Chaplains in India was frequently very

limited. One of the first acts of the new Company was to improve this state of things considerably, and to provide that no ship of over 500 tons burden should come East without a Chaplain. Richard Elliott in Madras and John Evans in Bengal were at one time the only Clergymen of our Church in those parts of India. Both were remarkable men. Of Evans we shall speak at some length later on. Elliott died in 1695, after seventeen years' service in India. He was a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. He had been closely associated with Streynsham Master in his endeavours to reform the condition of things in various Factories, and had set a fine example of steady devotion to duty carried on under most difficult conditions. On the stone which marked his grave for over a hundred years, but which afterwards was destroyed, there was the following inscription:

"P. M. S. Ricardus Elliott, Theologus,
Collegii Regalis apud Cantabrigienses Socius Senior,
Et Ecclesiæ Divæ Mariæ in hac Madraspatam
Per Septem decem plus minus annos Pastor Fidelis.
Hanc vitam pro meliore commutavit
Decimo Septimo Octobris die, 1696.
'Memento te præpositorum vestrorum,' etc.—Heb. 13. 7."

Shortly before Elliott's death two Chaplains were sent out by the Company, one the Rev. George Lewis, the other the Rev. Jethro Brideoake. Lewis had a knowledge of Portuguese and was sent out primarily to minister to the slaves and Protestant Portuguese. After Elliott's death he became Chaplain of Madras till 1714, *i.e.* for twenty-two years. He was an Oxford graduate, devoted to his work, honoured and beloved by every one. He did much for the education of the domiciled community, and his name must always stand high amongst Indian Chaplains.

Jethro Brideoake, also an Oxford graduate, was a distinguished linguist. Disappointed at being posted to St. David's, where he had no scope for his linguistic gifts, and in view of the fact that he had been given to understand he would be stationed at Madras, he remained in India for but a short period, when he resigned his position, much to the annoyance of the East India Company. The records in their Minutes of those who displeased them are worth reading, as showing how they viewed everything

from their own point of view. Brideoake is described as a " bad " man, simply because he was unwilling to accept their change of plans.

One fact which Mr. Penny's exhaustive researches into the Chaplains of those days makes plain to us is that as a body they were men of ability and devotion, who worked whole-heartedly for the good of the people committed to their charge.

CHAPTER III

BOMBAY, 1662—1730

Period.—England: Restoration, Charles II., James II., William and Mary, Queen Anne, and George I. India: The Mughal period; Rise of Bahmani dynasty and Mahratta development. . . .

AUTHORITIES.—*Bombay in the Making*, by Malabari; *The Rise of Bombay*, by S. M. Edwardes; *Bombay Gazeteer*, vol. I, *History*; *By-Ways of Bombay*; *History of Chaplains' Department in Western India*, by the Rev. E. E. Hill; *Keigwin's Rebellion*, by C. Strachey; *Annesley of Surat*, by Arnold Wright; *The English in Western India*, by the Rev. P. Anderson; *A History of the Cathedral Church of St. Thomas in Bombay* (*Times of India* Press, Bombay).

"A city which by God's help shall be built."—G. AUNGIER.

NOWHERE are the marks of British genius more clearly manifest than in the city of Bombay, where so many travellers from the West make their first acquaintance with India. One should read with old maps what the authors of *Bombay in the Making* and *The Rise of Bombay* have to tell us to fully realise the huge transformation which has welded together "the seven islands" so completely that no ordinary visitor would believe that Bombay had ever been a group of islands.

It would indeed be interesting to see pictures of Bombay at different periods during these last two hundred and fifty years since it first became a British possession; but the period one would most wish to see would be that when its second Governor, Aungier, looking over its unhealthy, foul-smelling swamps, made his solemn vow to God concerning its future: "A city which by God's help shall be built."

What pathos and tragedy too is connected with its earliest years! The factors in Surat had often cast envious eyes on it, and on one occasion had even planned along with the Dutch to make a joint attack on the Portuguese fleet while anchored in Bombay, and to take the place from them. Fortunately their plans failed, as the Portuguese Admiral Botelho got wind of their approach and escaped to sea; so that beyond a raid on the settlement when the Dutch

vented their fury in acts of disgraceful sacrilege in the churches, nothing was done.

All things come to those who know how to wait, and what the Company had been longing for and scheming after eventually came into their possession without even a blow. It came as the marriage dowry of the Infanta of Portugal, Katharine of Braganza, on her marriage to King Charles II.

Shortly after that came the day for taking over our new possession, when a fleet was sent from England under the Earl of Marlborough with a regiment of soldiers under Sir Abraham Shipman. This, however, was only the beginning of troubles. The Portuguese Viceroy refused to believe that Bombay was to be given up, and cast doubts upon the papers presented by the Earl. Then after a lot of useless palaver the Admiral left Sir Abraham Shipman and the troops on the small island of Angediva, near Goa, and sailed home for fresh orders. Over a year passed before the fresh orders came, and when they came Sir Abraham Shipman and most of his troops were dead. It was a ghastly tragedy.

Then when the Portuguese could no longer refuse to hand over the islands, they raised all sorts of fresh objections. This and that property must be retained; the religious houses were to keep the large properties they had possessed themselves of; and so on. Salsette, the large island which connects Bombay with the mainland, must on no account go. There was much which was decidedly unpleasant about the whole business, and it is clear that the Portuguese Viceroy was far-seeing enough to realise that his country had made a profound mistake in parting with this magnificent harbour. Nor were the English settlers particularly pleased with their new possession at first. Pepys, writing from reports which came home, said the general impression was "the Portuguese had badly choused us."

Bombay remained a Crown possession for seven years, and then the expense of guarding and keeping it up and the little that could be made out of it made the Crown only too willing to hand it over to the East India Company for the paltry sum of £10 a year.

Young men going to the Gold Coast in bygone days used to be advised to make friends with the Baptist Mission, as they possessed "a hearse with plumes." We read of no such luxury in the Bombay of those days, though it seems to have been more deadly than any of the West African

stations. Ovington remarks about the extreme unhealthiness of Bombay, "that as some of the islands of the West were called 'fortunate' on account of their pure air and genial climate, so the moderns may in opposition to them denominate this 'the Unfortunate One' in the East, because of the antipathy it bears to these two qualities. Of the twenty-four passengers who arrived with him in Bombay at the commencement of the annual rains, twenty as well as the ship's company had died before the rains ceased. It was a common saying, "Two monsoons are the age of a man," whereas at Surat the health of Europeans suffered little.

But although death was ever shadowing this little community, it can hardly be said that among the majority it produced anything like a serious attitude towards life; and bad water, bad food, foul smells from the fish manure with which the palm trees were plentifully nourished, and the undrained and insanitary native town, took a big toll of life. Arrack punch * and dissolute lives seem to have swelled this ghastly account to almost incredible dimensions. Anderson tells us of a duel fought between Mr. Hornigold and Captain Minchin, which had its origin at some wild orgies, and, as President Aungier remarked, was "the usual effect of that accursed Bombay punch, to the shame and scandal and ruin of the nation and religion."

He was a bold man who volunteered for Bombay in those days, but this did not prevent certain Englishwomen who wished to get married coming out in the Company's ships in search of husbands. They hardly seem to have been the most suitable kind of wives for such men. "A modish garb and mien," notes Ovington, "are all that is expected from any women that pass thither, who are many times matched to the chief merchants upon the place, and advance thereby their condition to a very happy pitch. A modest woman may very well expect, without any very great stock of honour or wealth, a husband of repute and riches there, after she has run all this danger and trouble for him."

Fortunately for Bombay, its early life under the East India Company (after seven short years under Crown government) was guided by one of the best and wisest of Englishmen in India at that time. It was Gerald Aungier who laid the foundations of what is now one of the greatest cities in

* Bombay has the unenviable distinction of having given its name to this well-known drink, so called from its "five" ingredients.

the world, and laid them surely and firmly. Through his wisdom and statesmanship many of the difficult questions connected with the old Portuguese settlers and their religious houses were settled. It was through an absolute trust in his justice and goodness that large numbers of respectable Indian merchants were induced to settle on the island and so to develop its trade.

His establishment of Courts of Law where justice was administered impartially to English and Indian alike reveals him as a far-sighted and wise man. Writing of this aspect of his work, Hamilton the Interloper quaintly remarks, "Aungier brought the face of justice to be unveiled."

In addition to his gifts as an administrator, Aungier also possessed the capacity and instincts of a soldier. Within a year of his appointment as President, the Dutch Admiral appeared off the coast of Bombay with a large fleet, determined to drive the English out of their new possession. While the whole place seethed with excitement at the threatened attack, Orme the historian tells us, "Aungier exerted himself with the calmness of a philosopher and the courage of a centurion." Defences were everywhere organised, and the soldiers and half-trained island militia called out. So effective indeed were Aungier's dispositions that the Dutchmen, after making some futile demonstrations, withdrew.

Nor was Aungier merely content with the material prosperity of the town. The condition of the Settlement from a moral standpoint stirred him deeply. Ovington, who spent some weeks there, writes of it in the following strain: "I cannot without horror mention to what a pitch all vicious enormities were grown in this place. Their principles of action, and consequent evil practices of the English, forwarded their miseries and contributed to fill the air with those pestilential vapours that seized their vitals and speeded their hasty passage to the other world. Luxury, immodesty, and a prostitute dissolution of manners, found still new matter to work upon."

It must be admitted that the Court of Directors did what they could to arrest the progress of vice at Bombay; but Anderson is convinced that the evil influence of the English Court of King Charles II. had spread so far and wide throughout the nation that "it was not expected that a warning voice from London would gain respectful attention in

India." It is interesting none the less to read some of these despatches which came out from Leadenhall Street.

"The Governor, Deputy Governor, and Committees of the East India Company, having been informed of the disorderly and unchristian conversation of some of their factors and servants in the parts of India, tending to the dishonour of God and the shame and scandal of the English nation," make certain regulations with a view to render "the religion we profess amiable in the sight of those heathens among whom they reside."

The following directions were issued for religious observances: The Agents and Chiefs of the several Factories were also strictly enjoined "to prevent all profane swearing and taking the name of God in vain by cursed oaths; all drunkenness and intemperance, all fornication and uncleanness." If any persisted in committing these sins they were to be punished, and, if found incorrigible, sent to England.

Aungier was convinced that the absence of Englishwomen was the main cause of this unhappy state of things, especially as far as the soldiers of the garrison were concerned. As an English Churchman he objected most strongly to the British soldiers marrying Portuguese women, who were of course strict Roman Catholics, and who expected their children to be brought up in their own faith. He therefore sends the following despatch to the Court of London:—

"Whereas, for want of Englishwomen, many of the English and other Protestant soldiers sent out do marry with Portuguese mesties (half-caste women), natives of the island, who are Roman Catholics, by which means the children of the said Protestants are through their fathers' neglect brought up in the Roman Catholic principles, to the great dishonour and weakening the Protestant religion and interest: wherefore for the preventing the evil consequences which may in time accrue therefrom, that the Company would please not only to encourage the sending out of Englishwomen, but also to establish a standing order that the children of all Protestant fathers be brought up carefully in the Protestant religion, though the mothers thereof be Roman Catholics, and that severe penalties be inflicted on all offenders, especially on the Padres who shall endeavour to baptise the said children or any attempt to inveigle or entice them away from the Protestant faith."

It was a strange and unwholesome atmosphere in which the Chaplain had to do his work, and the fairly constant expressions of rather unctuous piety in these despatches which went to and from London—a fashion begotten in Puritan days—might easily deceive us into thinking that things were better than writers like Ovington have represented them. One of the early Chaplains of Bombay had a strange experience which throws some light on the tone of society at that period. This gentleman, who was "present one night at a convivial party, was suddenly asked by an amorous pair to make them man and wife." Regarding the application as a joke, he merely supposed that they were enjoying themselves at his expense. However, he replied that he could not think of marrying them at that late hour; but if they continued in the same mind next morning, he would do as they required. What must have been his surprise to find that a charge against him for neglect of duty was grounded upon his refusal, and he was formally called upon by the President to state his reasons for not discharging the functions of his office.

The life of the Settlement of Bombay was destined to pass through an experience as strange as it was exciting in its early days.

It was obvious from the first that Bombay would have to be fortified against attacks both from sea and land. On land their Mahratta neighbours were growingly aggressive, and on sea the Siddees, who were nothing better than Mughal pirates, were constantly giving trouble. The defences of Bombay obviously involved the raising of an island militia and the sending of some trained English troops to stiffen it. It is obvious from various despatches from the Court of Directors in London, as well as from the accusations brought against Aungier for his extravagance in expenditure on the fortifications of the settlement, that the Directors were extremely anxious to spend as little money as possible on either their soldiers or the fortifications. The following despatch is amusing reading :—

"We would have the inhabitants modelled into trained bands under English or other officers as there shall be cause, and make of them one or two regiments, or more, as your number will hold out, exercising them in arms one day in every two months, or as often as you shall think may be convenient, but you need not always waste powder at such

exercise, but teach them to handle their arms, their facings, wheeling, marching and counter-marching, the first ranks to advance, as is often used with learners in our artillery ground, but sometimes they must be used to firing lest in time of action they should start at the noise or the recoil of their arms."

The first Commandant of the troops in Bombay was one Richard Keigwin, a bold and adventurous spirit. After his first short period of service in India he had gone to England, and on his return to Bombay found that his position on the Bombay Council had been reduced by orders of the President, Sir John Child. It seems that even in those early days the Civil and Military were sometimes at loggerheads. About the same time the soldiers and officers under his command found, greatly to their disgust and resentment, that their pay had been cut, and that certain of their recognised allowances had been docked. Worse still, they found that the promise of the Company to them of a month's pay after three years' service, with a free discharge, was now being repudiated. In spite of ominous warnings, the Court of Directors in London, listening entirely to Sir John Child, refused to consider these grievances; with the result that in 1682 the whole garrison rose to a man in mutiny; the Deputy Governor, Ward, was confined in his quarters, and Keigwin assumed the post of Governor. As at one time he had been Governor of St. Helena, the *rôle* of Governor was not an entirely new one to him, and during the year that he held his self-assumed office he seems to have administered affairs with remarkable ability.

His first act on assuming the Governorship was to send an official report to King Charles, informing him in language of dutiful respect that they had restored to him this portion of his marriage dowry; and that his sole reason for taking such strong action was on account of the intolerable injustice of the Company's administration of Bombay. Like Winter's rebellion in Madras, it makes one realise the difference between the India of to-day and the India of two hundred and fifty years ago, when we find that Keigwin was able to hold his own in defiance of the Company for considerably more than a year. In vain Sir John Child, the President at Surat, threatened, implored, and coaxed him. The Missions which he sent from Surat to interview Keigwin were invariably treated courteously but returned without accom-

plishing anything, and the interesting fact is that every one in Bombay seems to have sympathised with Keigwin and to have been content with his rule. As Governor he showed ability and integrity. He strengthened the defences of Bombay and confirmed a treaty with the Mahrattas much to the advantage of England, At length compelled to surrender to the British fleet under Sir Thomas Grantham, he was, in spite of all the terrible threats of John Child, allowed to depart to England in peace. His adventurous life was eventually cut short when leading his regiment in storming a fort in the West Indies.

During the rebellion the position of the Chaplain would under any circumstances be one of great difficulty. Watson, however, seems to have shown such sympathy with Keigwin and the soldiers that the Company would have nothing further to do with him. He was dismissed the Company's service and compelled to pay his own passage home. Their despatch runs as follows :

" Watson, that scandalous Chaplain at Bombay, let him have no salary from us . . . and let Watson know he is no more our servant, banish him the island and let him take care to pay for his own passage home, and provide yourselves of another Chaplain for Bombay out of some of our ships, if you cannot meet with any so much to your satisfaction as you have at Surat in the room of Mr. Badham deceased."

After Keigwin's rebellion, so Anderson tells us, the East India Company, mainly under the influence of Sir Josiah Child, Chairman of the Court of Directors, began for the first time to hanker after political importance and power. We get some idea of the overweening conceit of this prince merchant from one of his letters to the Chief in Surat. " The English laws are a heap of nonsense compiled by a few ignorant country gentlemen." " My orders, Sir, are to be your rules, and not the laws of England."

Years before, Sir Thomas Roe, our first Ambassador, had warned them not to follow the example of the Dutch. They now decided to adopt an entirely new policy. " The wise Dutch," they remarked, " took ten times more interest in administrative functions and military operations than in the affairs of commerce." The Company must increase its revenues. " It is that must make us a nation in India," they wrote; " without revenues they were merely," they said, " a great number of interlopers." These words were

symptomatic of the change which was passing over the Company. The era of trade was passing away, the era of administration was beginning.

Sir Josiah Child found in his namesake John Child an instrument for carrying out his projects. John Child had lived most of his life in India, and, if we are to accept what Hamilton says of him, was an extremely unscrupulous, even cruel, man. Though bearing the same name, it seems that he was in no way related to Sir Josiah Child. The first act of his new policy was certainly one of the greatest folly. Knowing nothing about fighting, he deliberately made war with the Great Mughal. It was a war of a midget against a giant. The Mughal ships under a determined commander landed on the island of Bombay, and before a few weeks were over the English garrison were in such a miserable condition that they were compelled to capitulate. Aurungzebe accepted their capitulation contemptuously, and laid on them terms of the most humiliating kind : one of which was that Sir John Child was to leave India immediately. He died before he left. The Company lost nearly half a million by this war.

The closing years of the seventeenth century and the opening ones of the eighteenth century were dark and unhappy ones for the old Company everywhere in India, but especially in Bombay and Surat. In England there had arisen strongly hostile feeling against them, mainly on account of their jealous monopoly in the Indian trade and also owing to the unfavourable reports of their harshness and cruelty towards any rivals. The way was being paved for the formation of a rival Company which, after a good deal of bribery and corruption, very prevalent in those days, received its Charter in 1698 during the reign of William and Mary. Then with the advent of the rival Company there was such a scene of envy and strife between Englishman and Englishman in India as to fill the Mughal's mind with astonishment and almost contempt for these traders from the West, and to bring shame and disgrace upon the nation. The old Company intrigued against the new, and the new Company retaliated to the full against the old Company. So bitter was this feeling of hatred between the two Companies that when Edwards, a Chaplain of the new Company, died in Surat, the old Company refused to allow the body to be buried in their cemetery, and but for the kindness of the

Armenian Christians in that city, he would not have received Christian burial.

It was when this rivalry was at its height, that for the second time an Ambassador was sent to the Court of the Great Mughal. The history of Sir William Norris's mission with all its magnificence is told graphically in the pages of Arnold Wright's *Annesley of Surat*. Next to his own stupidity and high-handed manner in dealing with the Mughal officials, his failure may be laid at the door of his fellow-countryman, Sir John Gayer, President of the old Company.

In 1702 efforts were made to heal this unhappy division, and for six years the two Companies worked side by side with a semblance of unity. The principle of a "Rotation Government" was adopted, by which the heads of the rival Companies acted as President in alternate years. How unworkable the whole arrangement was soon became evident. It was during this period of truce that Sir Nicholas Waite, President of the new Company, anxious to retain the position for himself, arranged by bribing the Mughal Governor of Surat that Sir John Gayer, President of the old Company, should be kept a prisoner in the Factory at Surat. His imprisonment lasted for three years.

Not until the two Companies really united under Earl Godolphin's Award in the year 1708, when the Companies were amalgamated into one, did the East India Company "flourish, and the name of England seem really great in the eyes of the Indians." From this time forward the amalgamated Company was known as "The United Company of Merchants of England trading with the East Indies."

In the charter of the United Company there were special provisions for an educational and religious establishment. A Minister and Schoolmaster were to be maintained in every garrison, "in superior Factories, and a decent place appropriated exclusively for Divine Service." Every ship of five hundred tons burden and upwards was ordered to carry a Chaplain. All Clergymen, whether sent for duty in ships or in Factories, had to be approved by the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London, and care was to be taken that they were treated with respect. It was strictly enjoined also that all Chaplains who went to reside in India should learn the Portuguese language within one year after their arrival, and should also apply themselves to learn the

language of the country, "the better to enable them to instruct the Gentoos that should be the servants or slaves of the same Company, or of their Agents, in the Protestant religion."

About this time a Prayer for the Honourable United Company of Merchants of England trading with the East Indies was prepared by His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, which reads as follows :—

"O Almighty and most merciful Lord God, Thou art the sovereign Preserver of all that trust in Thee, and the Author of all spiritual and temporal blessings. Let Thy grace, we most humbly beseech Thee, be always present with Thy servants, the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies. Compass them with Thy favour as with a shield, prosper them in all their public undertakings, and make them successful in all their affairs both by sea and land. Grant that they may prove a common blessing, by the increase of honour, wealth, and power to our native country. Give to us and all Thy servants whom Thy Providence has placed in these remote parts of the world, grace to discharge our several duties, with piety towards Thee our God, loyalty towards our King, fidelity and diligence towards them by whom we are employed, kindness and love towards one another, and sincere charity towards all men; that we adorning the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour in all things, these Indian nations among whom we dwell, beholding our good works, may be won over thereby to love our most holy religion, and glorify Thee, our Father which art in heaven. All this we beg for the sake of our Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom, with Thee and the blessed Spirit, be ascribed all honour, praise, and dominion, both now and for evermore. Amen.

"*December* 2nd, 1698.

"We do conceive that this Prayer may be very proper to be used, for the purpose expressed in the title of it.

"Tho. Cantuar.
"H. Londin."

It is beside our purpose to give anything like a full account of the history of this interesting period. Our object is to make clear to our readers the setting in which Englishmen had to live their lives in India at that time and in which our

Chaplains had to do their work. How strange that work sometimes was, is evident from the following :—

When Edwards, the Chaplain of Surat, died, Hackett, who was then Chaplain of a ship in port, was appointed to fill the vacancy. The owners of this merchant vessel had arranged with Hackett that he was to receive £100 on his return to England. When, therefore, he was offered this Chaplaincy he asked that the Company should indemnify him for the financial loss which he would suffer by breaking his agreement. Sir Nicholas Waite, the President of the new Company, agreed to this, and in a letter to the Company dated April 9, 1700, adds, " I hope that he will by his piety and diligence in his station be such an example of virtue as may deserve this favour from your honours."

Hackett was apparently a parson of a manly type, for shortly afterwards he was sent to Berhampore in charge of the brass guns which had been left behind at Surat by the Ambassador. Sir William Norris was then up-country with the Mughal Emperor. On this occasion we find Hackett commanding ten soldiers, six writers, and two Surgeons. He apparently did not care for India, as he retired shortly afterwards.

Hackett was succeeded by the Rev. Pratt Physon, who undertook the duties of Chaplain for six months. Physon bore a bad name. He purchased goods of great value for which he had no means of paying. Anderson speaks of him as follows : " And so passes off the scene this Acting Chaplain, leaving a smell of brimstone behind him."

After his departure we find Sir Nicholas Waite writing to the Court of Directors as follows :—

" We shall be without a Chaplain for reading prayers and instruction of your youth, until your honours please to send a pious and ingenuous man whose learning and behaviour may be exemplary to all your servants and inform the world of the glorious mysteries as yet unknown amongst these people."

It is strange to think that the person who could have written such a letter as this was the same person who intrigued successfully to keep his rival incarcerated in the Factory at Surat for three years !

One of the least pleasing features of the period was the tone of unctuous piety adopted by persons whose ordinary conduct seems to have been both irreligious and unrighteous.

Before concluding this chapter on early Bombay, some account of the building of its first Church, now the Cathedral of St. Thomas, must be given. Something too must be said of the interesting and vigorous personality of the man who was mainly responsible for building it. The actual story of the building is so well told by the Rev. J. L. C. Dart, in *A History of the Cathedral Church of St. Thomas in Bombay*, that we cannot do better than repeat a good deal of what he has written.

"In 1682 the whole of the English community was housed in the Fort, and worshipped in an upper room. But from the beginning the conscience of the little settlement seems to have been uneasy about the inadequacy of this arrangement, and under the second Governor of Bombay (Sir George Oxenden—the first Governor ruled for only one year) it set about collecting funds for the building of a Church. The earliest existing account of this beginning is to be found in the pages of George Hamilton's *New Account of the East Indies*, which was published in 1727. Hamilton says, "Sir George Oxenden began to build (a Church) and charitable collections were gathered for that use; but when Sir George died, piety grew sick, and the building of Churches was grown unfashionable. . . . There were reckoned above £5000 had been gathered towards building the Church, but Sir John Child, when he came to reign in Bombay, converted the money to his own use, and no more was heard of it. The walls were built by his predecessors to five yards high, and so it continued till the year 1715."

The accusation of misappropriation of funds here made has been widely circulated and believed. But Hamilton's statement is inaccurate. The foundation of the Church was laid under the direction of "President" Aungier, and not of his predecessor. Aungier contributed liberally to the scheme, and left in his will a legacy of Rs.5000 towards its completion. His executor and principal legatee was his brother, the Earl of Longford, who resided in England. In spite of all the efforts of the Directors of the Company in London and its Governors in Bombay, Lord Longford could not be induced to part with the money, and from this fact appears to have arisen the story of misappropriation of funds, which scandal was magnified and handed down to us. The true cause of the cessation of work seems to have been that the little community attempted more than it was

possible for it to carry out. Less than three hundred in number, they planned and began to build a Church designed to hold one thousand. It is possible also that when the leading spirit was removed, "Piety grew sick" and enthusiasm waned.

It was not until 1715 that the building was recommenced. As the prime mover in the matter was the Rev. Richard Cobbe, it may be as well to let him tell the story as much as possible in his own words.

"In the good ship *Katherine*, in company with the *Thistlewood* . . . we set sail by God's permission, from Deal, March 29, 1714, with a prosperous gale and in high spirits, towards our intended port. . . . We made the inner passage, between the continent of Africa and *Madagascar*, alias *St. Laurence*, having touched nowhere since we left England, till we came to *Johanna*. . . . From thence we reached to Bombay, our desired haven, God be praised, safe and well in about six months' time, with a very pleasant and prosperous voyage all the way, were it not for burying our worthy Commander, Captain *Edward Godfrey*, and his chief mate, Mr. *William Thaxton*, and one *William Palmer*, a midshipman. We arrived at Bombay, September 21, 1714, *St. Matthew's* day; when I was received by the Governor, the Honourable William Aislabie, Esq., the gentlemen of the Council, etc., courteously and respectfully.

"Being thus safely arrived . . . and having considered the inconvenience, and unsuitableness withall, of performing our public devotions in so private a manner, as we did in the Fort having only two upper rooms beat into one, which served us for a Chapel, and being locked up in the Fort or Castle, in time of Divine Service; I ventured to propose the building of a Church for God's honour and service, according to the use of the Church of England, that all the island might see we had some religion amongst us. . . . Whereupon I took the freedom on Sunday, June 19, 1715 . . . to recommend in a sermon the building of a Church. After sermon, in the morning . . . I waited on the Governor . . . according to custom, at his lodgings in the Fort, before dinner. Who was pleased to address me very friendly in these words:

"'Well, Doctor, you have been very zealous for the Church this morning.'

"'Please your Honour, I think there was occasion enough for it, and I hope without offence.'

" ' Well, then, if we must have a Church, we will have a Church ! Do you see and get a book made and see what every one will contribute towards it, and I will do first.' Which was accordingly done, leaving a blank for the Company's subscription, which was afterwards filled up with ten thousand rupees. A rupee is half a crown."

Cobbe threw himself with great energy into the task of raising money. He wrote letters to all the English settlements in India and Persia, going so far afield as to address the " Members of the Church of England at China." Very seldom was the response unsatisfactory. From Surat one, George Bowcher, who had subscribed in President Aungier's day sent him Rs.200, together with the following somewhat peevish letter : " Sir, I wish you better success than your predecessor, who built little, raised and destroyed abundance of money to no purpose ; he had finished a stately organ which I saw in the Fort, what is become of it God knows. God Almighty bless your endeavours and also, Reverend Sir, your most humble servant." But Bowcher seems to have repented of his distrust, for later he expressed his pleasure that the " fabrick, which has been so long in agitation now in a short time may rejoice and sing anthems to her heavenly King. May you proceed prosperously, long enjoy your labour, and reap a plentiful harvest in the Lord's vineyard." Madras refused altogether to subscribe. The Chaplains, replying to Cobbe's appeal, criticised the size of the projected Church, and stated that Madras was engaged in raising funds to found a Charity School. " However, sir," they wrote, " we are so willing to encourage everything that has but the remotest tendency to advance the glory of God, or the honour of His religion ; that whatever sum the gentlemen of Bombay will contribute to our Charity School, we will use our utmost endeavours to raise as much towards the building of your Church." Rebuffs such as these made very little difference. Money poured in so fast that it was considered safe for the Deputy Governor, the Worshipful Stephen Strutt, to lay the first stone of the new work on November 18, 1715."

" On Christmas Day, 1718, the Governor and Council attended by the free Merchants, Military, etc., Inhabitants of the place, proceeding from the Fort in great order to the Church, and approaching the great door at the West end, were met by the Chaplain in his proper habit, and introduced

repeating the twenty-fourth *Psalm*, with the Gloria Patri. The Church was dressed with palm branches and plantain trees, the pillars adorned with wreaths of greens, and the double crosses over the arches looked like so many stars in the firmament. Service began as usual on Christmas Day, but with this additional satisfaction, the making a new Christian the same day in our new Church ; a good omen, I hope of a future increase ; the Governor, Mrs. Parker and Mrs. Crommelin stood gossips ; who came down to the Fort in time of Divine Service, where the child was baptised according to order, by the name of Susannah ; a whole crowd of black people standing round about *Rammagee*, and all his caste, who were so well pleased with the decency and regularity of our way of worship that they stood it out the whole service."

There is an ancient custom in the English Church of prefacing the sermon by a " bidding prayer." The practice has fallen into disuse, except for the University Churches and Cathedrals, but in 1718 it was universal. The " bidding " used by Richard Cobbe proclaimed, " Ye ought humbly to implore the blessing of God upon the whole race of mankind ; that He would be pleased to have mercy upon all Jews, Turks, Infidels, Hereticks and Schismaticks, that He would take from them all blindness and hardness of heart ; that so His ways may be known upon earth, His saving health unto all nations."

" Sermon ended, Isaiah lvi. 7, the Governor, Council, and ladies repaired to the vestry, when having drunk success to the new Church in a glass of Sack, the whole town returned to the Governor's lodgings within the Fort, where was a splendid entertainment, wine and music and abundance of good cheer. After dinner the Governor began Church and King, according to custom ; but upon this occasion an additional compliment of twenty-one guns from the Fort, which were answered by the European ships in the harbour, with several other healths drinking and firing until almost four o'clock, and lest so good an opportunity should slip, by the Governor's leave I brought in the subscription book, and got above two thousand four hundred rupees to our Church, of which the Governor, for example's sake, launched out one thousand rupees himself. . . . Thus was the ceremony of opening *Bombay* Church performed with all the public demonstrations of joy, with that decency and good order as was suitable to the solemnity."

We have already alluded to the low tone of society in Bombay at this time. It was inevitable that a man whose zeal for God's glory was as great as Richard Cobbe's should sooner or later come into conflict with those whom he regarded as evil-doers. In 1720, within two years of the opening of the Church, Cobbe found himself in serious opposition to one of the leading members of Council. Anderson's description of the whole dispute is so graphic (he professes to give us the *ipsissima verba* of the conversations and the scene in the Council Chamber) that one cannot but regret that limited space prevents us quoting it in full.

To those who are not strict Sabbatarians the origin of the trouble seems hardly to have justified the uncompromising attitude adopted by Mr. Cobbe, but to him the matter appealed in quite a different light. Braddyll, a member of Council, who disliked Cobbe, was in the habit of employing workmen on Sundays to repair his house. This the Chaplain, in common with most people in those days, regarded as an open breach of the Fourth Commandment. He remonstrated with the culprit, privately, but to no effect, and at last felt compelled to act publicly. One Sunday when the Sabbath-breaker was in Church, he addressed him by name from the Altar, demanding whether he repented of his " open and notorious sin," and threatening him with excommunication unless he amended. This seems to have afforded Braddyll the opening he desired. He complained to the Council, who took the matter up. Accusations against Cobbe came pouring in. He had preached a seditious sermon, in that he had seemed to refer to the justice of the Council's expulsion of a member ; he had compelled people to remove their gloves before approaching the Altar, observing that " they would not keep them on at the Governor's table " ; he had preached " personally at " different members of the congregation,

Cobbe was thereupon called on by the Governor-in-Council to ask Mr. Braddyll's pardon publicly in the Church on the following Sunday immediately after reading the Communion Service. This he absolutely refused to do, and, according to Anderson, protested most solemnly against such a degrading punishment. He even disputed the Governor's authority in such a matter, and maintained that he held no Commission from the King of England. He admitted, however, that he might have chosen a fitter place for his ad-

monition than the Church, and expressed his willingness to apologise to Mr. Braddyll, though not in Church. He concluded his defence in the following manner: "You know, gentlemen, how unthankful an office this is, and how few there are that care to undertake it, but to make a public acknowledgment of what we are satisfied is our duty and to ask pardon for what we are expressly enjoined to reprove, would be to render this office contemptible, as it is extremely precarious, ineffectual, and useless."

The Council, however, were unwilling to accept this modified apology, partly because of his questioning the authority of the Governor, and so the builder of Bombay Cathedral was suspended and ordered to be sent home. When informed of his suspension he is reported to have said, "Very well, what your Honour pleases."

On his return to England he presented the Bodleian Library with the first copy of the *Avesta* which had been seen in England. He was shortly afterwards presented to the living of Wint, in Dorsetshire, which he held until his death. Many years later he wrote an account of the Church in Bombay, which he dedicated to the East India Company, in which he refers gratefully to their generous benefaction and satisfaction. It has been inferred from this, not unnaturally, that the Court of Directors had not seen eye to eye with the Bombay Council in their treatment of this worthy man, and that it was probably through their influence he had been presented to his living. It is worthy of record that the Church which Richard Cobbe built, and which was opened in 1718, was consecrated by Bishop Middleton in 1816, nearly one hundred years later.

When we are tempted to think lightly of the Chaplains who ministered in India in those dark ages because of the failure of some, let us recall to memory this doughty soldier of the Cross, who rather than compromise with what he regarded as evil was willing to be deprived of his means of livelihood and deported!

CHAPTER IV

CALCUTTA, 1690—1756

Period.—England : William and Mary, Anne, George I. and II. India : Decline of Mughal power ; growth of Mahratta power.

Books of Reference.—*Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, by C. R. Wilson, 3 vols. ; *Parochial Annals of Bengal*, by the Rev. H. B. Hyde, M.A. ; *The Parish of Bengal*, by the Rev. H. B. Hyde, M.A. ; *Early English Adventurers in the East*, by Arnold Wright ; Busteed's *Echoes from Old Calcutta ; Christianity in India*, by the Rev. J. Hough ; *One Hundred and Forty-five Years at the Old Mission Church, Calcutta*, by the Rev. E. T. Sandys, M.A.

THE story of how Calcutta came into being has been told by more than one well-known writer. To the late Professor C. R. Wilson we owe an especial debt of gratitude for his monumental work on *The Early Annals of the English in Bengal.*

A modern writer alluding to December 31, 1600 (the day on which Queen Elizabeth granted the first Charter to the East India Company), seems to think that from that time onward the age of romance had departed. One cannot help feeling, however, that as daring and the spirit of adventure make up largely our conception of romance, we may fairly extend the period a little so as to include the creation of what was for long years the Capital of British India, even though the pursuit of trade first brought its founders to the East.

Let us endeavour to picture briefly what led to the foundation of this, the greatest city in India. Madras had hardly been founded when trade in that Settlement came almost to a standstill. Report had it, however, that things were far better up the coast to the north and up the Ganges ; and so after due consultation it was decided to send a party to spy out the land. A small boat, hardly big enough for ocean sailing, was the only one available at the time, and in it eight brave men sailed away north to search for trade in the new regions. Their voyage was full of peril, not only

from the sea but also from their Dutch and Portuguese rivals. After some days they reached the coast of Orissa, where they landed in the estuary of a river. Almost immediately they were embroiled in a dispute with the Portuguese, and after an ugly fight, from which they extricated themselves with some difficulty, they proceeded inland to the town where the last of the indigenous kings, Malcandy or Mudund Deo of Orissa, lived. He, as the Viceroy of the Mughal, received them graciously, and when Cartwright the leader of the party had swallowed his natural repugnance and kissed the Viceregal toe, they got to business. Permission was granted them to start factories at Hariharpur, a place which has long since passed out of history, and at Balasore, which still survives.

At first things went poorly with the East India Company's factors in Orissa. There was much sickness and trade was dull. Indeed, at one time had it not been for the far-seeing and courageous Day, one of the founders of Madras, who visited the Factories in Orissa, they would have been withdrawn altogether. Then things took a happy turn, and instead of returning south it was decided that they should go further forward.

For many years the Portuguese had been settled at Bandel to the north of Hughli, and not long before this the Dutch had also penetrated to these regions with the intention of establishing themselves in a settlement on the river close to Hughli, so there was nothing very remarkable in the decision of the British Company to trade up the Ganges. Their next move was to ask permission to start a Factory at Hughli, very much in the same way as they had asked permission fifty years before to start one at Surat. This they succeeded in obtaining through the kindly influence of Gerald Broughton, formerly a Surgeon on the East India Company's ship *The Hopewell*. Gerald Broughton had gained great influence at the Mughal Court by his skilful treatment of some royal patient. In due course the Factory was started, and the Imperial Firman was obtained in 1651. Gerald Broughton is not the only doctor of the East India Company who by his skill in caring for sick royalty did good service to his Company and country.

In the Charnock Mausoleum in the Churchyard of St. John's, Calcutta, stands a stone with the following inscription: —

UNDER THIS STONE LYES INTERRED
THE BODY OF
"WILLIAM HAMILTON, SURGEON,
Who departed this life the 4th December, 1717.
His memory ought to be dear to his
Nation for the credit he gain'd the English
in curing Ferrukseer, the present
King of Indostan, of a
Malignant Distemper, by which he
made his own Name famous at the
Court of that Great Monarch;
and without doubt will perpetuate
his memory, as well in Great Britain
as all other Nations of Europe."

The Factory at Hughli was not a complete success. Trade was constantly interfered with by the imposition of fresh Mughal taxes, many of them quite arbitrary, and of the pin-prick type, and though the Company in the next two decades opened up Factories at Cassimbazaar, Patna, and Dacca, they were continually being reminded that they lived in any enemy country at the mercy of the Moslem Viceroy. The Factory itself was badly placed, so that it was impossible to defend it successfully against attack.

It was to this Factory in the year 1678, there came the Rev. J. Evans, first Chaplain of the Bay, with wife and family, and it fell to his lot to be present and take an active share in all the troubles that befell the Factory till its close a few years later.

Shortly after Evans arrival the factory at Hughli was visited by Streynsham Master, the President of Madras, who was accompanied by the Rev. Richard Elliott, one of the Madras Chaplains. Streynsham Master remained there for two months. His visit was almost Episcopal in character. He found things, from a religious point of view, in evil case and proceeded to lay down rules, largely on the lines which had obtained in Surat. They read as follows :—

"HUGHLI, *December*, 1679 :—Orders made by us the Agent and Council for affairs of the Hon'ble English East India Company upon the Coast of Choromandell and in the Bay of Bengale (for advancing the Glory of God, upholding the honour of the English Nation and the preventing of Disorders) to be observed by all persons employed in the Factories in the Bay of Bengale."

" For as much as by persons of all professions the name of God ought to be hallowed, His services attended upon and His blessing upon our endeavours sought by daily prayers as the quality therefore of our plan and Imployment requires, and in discharge of our duty both to God and Man, first we doe Christianly admonish every one imployed in the Service of the Hon'ble English East India Company to abandon lying, swearing, cursing, drunkenness, uncleanness, profanation of the Lord's Day and all other sinful practice and not to be out of the house or from their lodgings late at nights or absent from or neglect morning or evening Prayers or do any other thing to the dishonour of Almighty God, the corruption of good manners or against the peace of the Government; but if any will not hear us admonishing them, we doe by virtue of the powers derived to us from the Hon'ble the Governour and Company of Merchants of London trading in the East Indies and by authority of the King's Majesties Royal Charter to them granted, order and appoint that whoever shall be found guilty of the following offences shall undergo the penalties hereunto annexed :—

" 1. Whoever shall remain out of the house all night (without licence from the Chief) or be found absent at the shutting of the gates after 9 at night (without a reasonable excuse) shall pay tenn rupees to the use of the Poore or sitt one whole day publickly in the stocks. . . .

" 5. Whoever (Protestant) shall lodge in the house (wether actually in the Company's service or not) that shall be absent from the public prayers morning and evening on the week days (without lawful excuse) shall pay twelve pence for the Poore or be confined one whole week within the house for every such default and whatever Christian in the Hon'ble Company's service that shall be absent from the Public prayers morning and evening on the Lord's Day (without lawful excuse) shall pay twelve pence for the poore for every such default and in case of non-payment after demand the said sum shall be levied by distress and saile of the offenders good and in default of such distress the offender shall suffer imprisonment until payment of said summ so forfeited by law.

" 6. If any by those penalties will not be reclaimed from their vices or any shall be found guilty of adultery, fornication, uncleanness or any such crimes or shall disturb the peace of the Factory by quarrelling or fighting and will not

be reclaimed, then they shall be sent to Fort St. George there to receive condigne punishment.

" 7. These orders shall be read publickly to the Factory twice in a year that is upon the Sunday next after Christmas day and upon the Sunday next after Mid-summer day in the forenoon after divine service that none may pretend ignorance thereof and all persons concerned therein are hereby stoutly charged and commanded to give due observance and not to act contrary to same upon pain of undergoing the penalties appointed and suffering further displeasure.

" In confirmation whereof we have hereunto sett our hands and the Hon'ble Company's Seal the twelfth day of December anno Domini 1679 and in the one and thirtieth year of the reigne of our Sovereigne Lord Charles the Second by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc.

" Streynsham Master.
Matthias Vincent.
Richard Mohun.

" One of the factors or writers shall be monthly appointed by the respective Chiefs to note and collect the forfeitures and to pay the same to the Chief who is every yeare to send it to the Chiefe at Hooghly and they are to remit the whole collections every yeare to the Agent, &c., at the Fort (*i.e.* Fort St. George), there to be paid to the overseers of the Poore."

Streynsham Master's visit to Hooghly must have meant a great deal to Evans. Streynsham Master had inherited, if he himself had not helped to create, the Surat traditions of religious observance in the Factories of Western India, and his strength of character and uprightness made him an immense influence for good. The fact, too, that he was accompanied by the Rev. R. Elliott, the first Chaplain of St. Mary's, Madras, must have brought to Evans a sense of sympathy in his work which was a rare privilege in those days. If at the present time an English Chaplain is often one of the loneliest clerics on earth, what must it have been in those days with Evans, who was the sole Chaplain of the " Bay," which term included the whole of Eastern India? It was part of the recognized duty of the Chaplain of Hooghly

to visit as out-stations Dacca, Cassimbazaar, Patna, and Balasore.

We still possess some of Evans' letters written when on tour. Between the year of his arrival and 1682 he and his wife endured the great sorrow of losing both their children. His wife's sister, who had accompanied them to India and had married one of the leading factors, had also died in child-birth. Hooghly seems, however, to have agreed with Mrs. Evans, as in one of his letters he writes "Mrs. Evans has grown exceeding fat."

Evans was clearly a man of exceptional ability, with a distinct gift for business. It was, as we have already seen, an understood thing in those days, that all the servants of the Company, including the Chaplain, might, without prejudice to their ordinary duties, undertake a little private trading on their own account. They were permitted, for example, to purchase things up-country and dispose of them elsewhere in India. They might even do a little trading with China and the far East. What, however, they were not allowed to do, was to take any part in trading with England or the Continent of Europe. This was exclusively the privilege of the Company. We shall see later on how by means of this local trading Evans acquired a very considerable fortune before he left India. To those who are inclined to condemn unreservedly such a custom which permitted a Minister of the Gospel to mix himself up with such mundane affairs, it is well to bear in mind the times in which he lived as well as the conditions of his service.

In those days the Chaplain received a salary of £50 a year. To this was added, if he satisfied those in authority, an additional gratuity of £50 a year. He had also a messing allowance and other small privileges. He was, however, granted no furlough, and could look forward to no pension. Life too was most uncertain (the majority of Chaplains survived only a few years), and if the Chaplain was a married man it was impossible for him to make any provision for his wife and family, unless he availed himself of the privilege of private trade. Certainly no one to-day who saves money and invests it in Government or other securities has any right to hold up the finger of scorn against the Chaplain who traded in those early days.

Where, however, Evans laid himself open to criticisms of an unfavourable kind, which he received in abundance,

was in the way in which he mixed himself up with the Interlopers and actively assisted those gentlemen who openly ignored the Company's Charter, and in defiance of it traded on their own account. Penny, in his *Church in Madras*, makes out a very strong case against the Interlopers. The East India Company paid large sums to the British Government for their right to be sole traders in the East. This carried with it both prestige and protection. The Interlopers reaped the benefits of this protection without paying anything for it. Conspicuous amongst the Interlopers at that period was Thomas Pitt, the grandfather of the first Earl of Chatham, who had found a wife in Hooghly, and whom Evans apparently met constantly both there and when visiting his out-station at Balasore. To have in any way associated with such persons was, in the eyes of the East India Company, a heinous offence, and in the long run it brought Evans into serious trouble.

Up to the year 1686 life went on very much as usual at Hooghly. There had been, however, a growing feeling that though trade was not actually decreasing, it was being so hampered that it was never likely to be a real success. A writer on that period sums up the situation in the following manner : " In the absence of any proper status the Englishmen were treated with scant courtesy at almost all times, and not unfrequently with actual injustice. Protests made against oppressive exactions of local officials were either disregarded altogether or contemptuously dealt with. In fine, the Company were at the mercy of every capricious wind that blew in India at a time when the conditions of Government were constantly changing."

The Dutch too, who had successfully expelled the Company from any share in trade in the Spice Islands and throughout the East Indian Archipelago, were bent on doing the same up the Ganges, and it was known that a good deal of our trouble with the Indian rulers could be traced to Dutch intrigue. Under these circumstances the Directors of the Company reluctantly came to the conclusion that without a fortified settlement in Bengal trade would certainly be unsuccessful and might in time become impossible.

The actual crisis came towards the end of the year 1686. In the April of that year Job Charnock, who had then been in India for thirty years, was transferred from the Patna Factory and appointed Agent at Hooghly. Charnock had

long been a close observer of the way things were moving in India. He was convinced that the power of Aurungzebe was everywhere weakening, and that he was quite unable to hold in check the unruly elements in his outlying Provinces. He was also convinced that without a fortified settlement of their own the Company could accomplish nothing. He was a man of courage, and when the crisis came he was quite ready for vigorous action.

Early in the winter of 1686 there arrived at Hooghly from England a considerable fleet of the Company's ships. Three of the vessels were of considerable size, the largest carrying seventy guns and the smallest fifty. There were also three frigates and a number of small vessels. The crew of this fleet numbered six hundred British seamen. The fleet also carried four hundred soldiers of the Company fully trained in the art of war.

There can be no doubt that the arrival of this fleet caused considerable excitement in Hooghly and up the river, and was partly responsible for bringing things to a head. One afternoon three English soldiers were on their way to market, when they were beaten, bound, and carried off prisoners by a body of Mughal troops. The first attempt to rescue them proved a failure, and the Mughals, emboldened by this success, proceeded to bombard the ships and to set fire to the buildings round the Factory.

Things had now taken a very serious turn. The bulk of the English troops happened to be some miles away down the river and before they arrived the English sustained yet another reverse. With their arrival, however, things speedily took on a different complexion. The Mughal troops were put to flight, half of Hooghly was in flames, the other half was pillaged and the native Governor was abjectly suing for peace. The matter was duly reported to Shayasta Khan, Nawab of Dacca, who was then the supreme Mughal authority in this region.

Now while the Mughal Governor of Hooghly was filled with a wholesome fear of the Company's troops, it was very different with this Mughal Nawab. Enraged beyond words, he determined that the English must at all costs be expelled from Bengal. To conceal his plans, however, and to gain time he pretended to be desirous of concluding a permanent arrangement, and even asked Charnock to formulate his demands. Charnock seized the opportunity to elaborate a

full list of claims : " He asked for site for a Fort, for permission to establish a mint, and to conduct trade free of customs." In addition to this he stipulated that the native Governor should rebuild at his own cost the Company's Factory, restore all the money he had appropriated, and assist to recover the Company's debts." At first Charnock was given to understand that all his demands would be complied with, but this proved to be only a blind to give the Nawab sufficient time to gather his army. When the real reply came, it came in the form of a return of the treaty unsigned, with a declaration of war phrased in language of strong indignation at the insolence of the English in preferring such demands. Charnock was not dismayed. He at once took the initiative by burning down the Imperial Salt Houses on the banks of the river and capturing the forts at what is now called Garden Reach.

On December 20, 1686, Charnock withdrew with his Council and the whole of the effects and the establishment of the Factory " ALL ye Right Honourable Company's concerns and our own " to the low and swampy village of Sutanuti Hatt beside Calcutta. As it was impossible to defend themselves against the Mughals in this place, they moved still further down the river to the Island of Hidgelee, where for several months they held at bay a large Mughal army.

In the whole story of warfare there are few more romantic episodes of daring and gallantry than the Siege of Hidgelee. The " pleasant island " proved to be saturated with malaria, " a low-lying pestilential spot," and as the hot weather came on disease quickly appeared. " Hardly ever was the proportion of sick less than one-third."

It seemed as if nothing awaited the defenders save speedy annihilation, when the arrival of a solitary English vessel with a detachment of only seventy soldiers proved to be the turning-point of the campaign. With rare imagination Charnock ordered these seventy men to be disembarked and marched up to the small fort with band playing and flying colours. He then made them embark again and again disembark. This performance of embarking and disembarking went on all day until the Mughal General, whose Intelligence Department was hardly up to modern standards, was quite convinced that he was face to face with a big English army. This he did not bargain for, so honourable

terms were agreed to and Charnock on June 10, 1687, marched out of the Fort with all the honours of war.

From Hidgelee the English went to Ulabaria for three months, and after that once more established themselves at Sutanuti. Why Charnock selected Sutanuti is not entirely clear. Professor Wilson, however, points out, in his *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, that Sutanuti possessed valuable strategic qualities. "It can only be approached on one side. To attack it the Mughal troops must cross the river higher up and march down upon it from the north. But if the river were crossed while the English ships still commanded it, the attacking force was opposed to sure and certain destruction."

The English were not on this occasion to remain in Sutanuti for more than a year. In September, 1688, Charnock, who had poweful enemies in England, was superseded by Commander Heath, an able seaman but a man utterly ignorant of India and totally unfit for the delicate work of diplomacy which was then required by our position at Sutanuti. For a time the idea was seriously entertained of abandoning Sutanuti and endeavouring to capture Chittagong in Eastern Bengal and establishing the Company's headquarters in that remote port. This, however, was fortunately abandoned. The new Agent, who was "everything by turns and nothing for long," started the idea of assisting the Mughals in a war against the King of Aracan. When this had fallen through, he gave orders for the watering of his ships and removed all the Company's servants and effects to Madras. Thus ended for the time the East India Company's venture in Bengal, where, through the rank stupidity of a headstrong man, everything seemed to have been lost.

But India is a land of surprises, and while Heath was prepared to abandon our English enterprises in Bengal, curiously enough the Mughal Emperor Aurungzebe was unwilling that they should. Never a lover of the English, he had been for long impressed by the strength which they had displayed at sea, and he felt that if he continued at strife with them he would not only lose a source of trade which was most lucrative, but would find the route from India to Mecca in the hands of infidels. He therefore, issued instructions to "the famously just and good Nawab Ibrahim Khan," the new Viceroy of Bengal, to invite the English to

return. His instructions run as follows : " It has been the good fortune of the English to repent them of their irregular past proceedings, and they are not being in their former greatness he was not to create for them any further trouble, but let them trade in Bengal as formerly." Job Charnock was reinstated in his former position and returned with his party from Madras in July, 1690.

He began his third and final occupation of the village of Sutanuti on August 24, 1690. This is the true foundation day of the city of Calcutta. During the whole of this disastrous period from the time of the abandonment of the Factory at Hooghli until Commander Heath sailed away to Madras with the whole personnel and establishment of the East India Company, Evans and his wife had shared to the full the perils and hardships which befell Charnock and his companions. Evans did not, however, return with Charnock, the Chief of the Factory, to Bengal, but remained at Madras as second Chaplain of St. George's till April, 1691, after which it is not recorded that he performed any sacred rite for four months. It is possible that he spent this period at Sutanuti and Hooghli, where the independent merchants were forming a depôt. While in Madras he seems to have employed his commercial talents to the full and to have helped some of his old friends who had left the Company in the steps they were taking to form a new and rival one. His immense local knowledge of Bengal was naturally of the greatest importance to any new Company, and the Court of Directors, being fully aware of this, were naturally greatly exasperated. In one letter they allude to him as " The Quondam Minister but late great merchant." In July, 1692, a letter was received by the President, dismissing him. It reads as follows :—

" Mr. Evans having betaken himself so entirely to merchandising, we are not willing to continue any further salary or allowance to him after the arrival of our two Ministers."

Evans' last recorded spiritual act was the performance of a marriage at St. Mary's, Madras, in November, 1692. He had now definitely decided to leave India, but before doing so he seems to have spent nearly a year in his old haunts up the Ganges. He reached England in 1694. Shortly after his return he was presented by the Bishop of Bangor to a Welsh living. In 1695 he was admitted by his University (Oxford) to the degrees of B.D. and D.D. He

afterwards held other livings, but spent most of his time at his London residence in Great Russell Street, near Montague House. His name was amongst the first promoters of both S.P.G. and S.P.C.K. He subscribed generously to every good work, and was on the governing body of S.P.G.

In 1701 he was made Bishop of Bangor by King William. Referring to his elevation to the Episcopate, Governor Pitt of Madras writes in the following terms to Sir Edward Littleton, Governor of Calcutta: "I hear your old friend Dr. Evans is made Bishop of Bangor, and it is said by your means. I am glad you are so much in love with Bishops that you contribute to the making of them, so hope you will send home a superfine piece of muslin to make his sleeves." Dr. Evans, unlike many of his successors, was a Welsh-speaking Bishop.

In 1716 he was translated to Meath, the premier Bishopric of Ireland. He died of gout in Dublin in 1724, and left nearly all his considerable fortune to the Church. His portrait is at Lambeth Palace, dated 1707, the 57th year of his age. "In it he appears as a man of fine stature with marked and handsome features suggestive rather of gentleness than of the strong determined character which, it is known, was his." The epitaph inscribed on his tomb gives a most picturesque description of his career, and can be read in Hyde's *Parochial Annals of Bengal.*

As we have already said, it is not for us to judge him by our higher standards of to-day. Mr. Hyde gives what may be regarded as a very balanced estimate of his career: "It would not be fair to judge the pastoral career of this eminent man by the increasingly lofty ideals to which the Catholic revival is now, in God's providence, accustoming the English Church. We possess, after all, but an one-sided view of his Indian life. It is fair to remember that he quitted England while but an inexperienced priest, and found himself at once in circumstances which he could not justly forecast in his quiet cure at Isleworth, and in which both poverty and approved custom seemed to justify a resort to secular pursuits as a means of maintenance. He was a man of strong conscientious convictions, as the latter thirty years of his life prove, in the direction of Orange Whiggery, and, to use the term in its modern sense, Protestantism: *reformatæ fidei vindex acerrimus.* He would, therefore, have rejected as Popish all but the most superficial views of his sacerdotal

stewardship. For the rest he seems to have been, though gentle in speech, of a stern, upright, character—*suavis sermone, aspectu gravis, moribus severus*—a man respecting whom the world might be challenged by the testimony of her who knew him best. 'He ever had greatly at heart to fulfil the Ministry which he had received in the Lord.'"

On his return to Calcutta Charnock found things in a deplorable state. The diary of the new settlement exhibits Charnock and his two Councillors, Ellis and Peachie, with a few factors and thirty soldiers living on sloops and country boats, as their former mud-built houses had nearly all fallen down. Months passed before they were able to better their condition. Things were made all the more difficult for them owing to the fact that the Mughal authorities were still suspicious and refused to allow them to build anything like a defensible Factory.

Charnock too was not what he once was. Long years of residence in India, combined with the strain of the years between 1686 and 1690, had robbed him of his energy and self-reliance. "The expectation of the formation of a rival Company daunted him. The law courts at Madras scared him exceedingly, so that he was afraid to think of meddling with anybody. Everybody did what was right in his own eyes." "He never even planned out the premises of a Factory. Every one built houses, enclosed lands, or dug tanks just as and when he chose. His feebleness was accompanied by a restless temper and savage moods." It was believed by some that he had turned heathen, because he sacrificed a cock on the grave of his Indian wife at each anniversary of her death. Quarrels and even duels amongst the factors and subordinates were of quite frequent occurrence, and the Agent did nothing to prevent, and some say even encouraged them. The settlement was given over to drunkenness and debauchery." Charnock had been too long in India, cut off from the wholesome influence of the homeland. May we not hope that the words of the epitaph in his Mausoleum in St. John's Church-yard, Calcutta—in which it is stated that he is buried as a Christian according to his expressed wish—represent what he really was in God's sight?

Shortly before the close of his life in the winter of 1693, Sir J. Goldsborough, the Company's Supervisor, Commissary-General and the Chief Governor in East India, visited Calcutta, and has left an account of its deplorable condition.

Reforms instituted by Goldsborough were unfortunately never carried out owing to his untimely death. One of his earliest acts had been to depose Ellis from the post of Agent, owing to his unsatisfactory conduct and to appoint Charles Eyre, Charnock's son-in-law, in his place.

During all this period the Chaplaincy of the Bay was vacant. The Rev. W. Rudsby, a Company's ship's Chaplain, had volunteered for the post, but he was not appointed. Not until 1698 was a Chaplain, the Rev. Thomas Clark, chosen on the recommendation of the Bishop of London, and he, sad to relate, died within two months of his landing in Calcutta. Shortly after his death a ship arrived bearing the Rev. R. Harwood, the newly appointed Chaplain of Hooghli. Alarmed at what he had heard of the Whiggery of the new Company at Hooghli, Harwood, who was a High Church Tory, threw up his appointment and made his way to Calcutta, where he remained for some months.

The new Company had its Chaplain at Hooghli, while the old retained its Chaplain in Calcutta. A few years later we shall see the Chaplains of Hooghli and Calcutta making a joint appeal for a Church in Calcutta, so perhaps we are justified in thinking that the happier and more kindly feeling which existed between the rivals in Bengal did not arise solely from the fact that they were not, as in Surat, living in the same city, but that the influence of the two Chaplains had some share in the matter.

On June 6, 1700, Sir Charles Eyre, who had recently been knighted while on leave in England, arrived in Calcutta, accompanied by the Rev. Benjamin Adams, a graduate of Magdalene College, Cambridge. The Court's letter to Bengal, written shortly before his departure, reads : " With our President Eyre, Mr. Benjamin Adams now takes his passage as our Chaplain, at the usual allowance of fifty pounds per annum Salary and fifty pounds Gratuity ; he is recommended to us for a sober, virtuous, learned man, and we hope will fully answer his character." Adams seems to have been a friend of Eyre's, and the latter's resignation after seven months must have been a great blow to the young Chaplain. It is possible that he did not find the new Chief so sympathetic, as a letter written by him in 1702 dwells on the discouragements which he had received in high quarters :—

" The Missionary Clergy abroad live under great dis-

couragement and disadvantage with regard to the easie and successful discharge of their important office. For, to say nothing of the ill treatment they meet with on all hands, resulting sometimes from the opposition of their Chiefs, who have no other notion of Chaplains but that they are the Company's servants sent abroad to act for, under, and by the them upon all occasions ; and sometimes from the perverseness and refractoriness of others ; 'tis observable that it is not in their power to act but by Legal Process upon any emergent occasion, when Instances of Notorious Wickedness present themselves ; and because that can't conveniently be had at so great a distance, hence it comes to pass, that they must suffer silently, being incapacitated to right themselves upon any Injury or Indignity offer'd, or (which is much worse) to vindicate the Honour of our Holy Religion and Lawes from the encroachments of Libertinism and Prophaneness.

" This everybody knows, and that knowledge is constant ground for licentiousness and ill manners, to those especially whose dissoluteness prompts them to level both Persons and Things, when that may serve to the gratifying of their own extravagant and wild Humour and Interest.

" Were the Injuries and Indignities small and trivial, and such as in time by a competent care and prudence might either be avoided or redrest, a man would choose to bear them with patience, rather than give himself the trouble of representating them to superiors. But notorious crimes had need be notoriously represented, or the Infection would grow too strong and Epidemical."

It is to be observed that in this letter Adams describes himself and his fellow-Chaplains in India as " Missionary Clergy." Mr. Hyde in his *Parochial Annals of Bengal*, has explained to us his meaning. " The Company from the first appointment of its Chaplains had kept the evangelistic idea in view." Their Circular, addressed to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge in 1658, asking for assistance in finding suitable men for Chaplains, opens thus : " The East India Company has resolved to endeavour the advance and spreading of the Gospel in India."

Adams lost his wife in 1703. There is a tablet over her grave in St. John's Churchyard, Calcutta. In 1704 he threw himself vigorously into the project of building a Church in Calcutta. He seems to have had a wonderfully

persuasive tongue, for numbers of the people responded to his appeal, including Commanders of ships then visiting the port. The Council made a grant of Rs.1000, and ordered " that a sufficient piece of ground to build it on be appointed in the Broad Street, and that a broad way be left on the side next to the river, full sixty feet broad clear from the Church." Adams was assisted in his church-building efforts by the Rev. William Owen Anderson, who had till recently been Chaplain of Hooghli. Before, however, the Church was even begun Adams had sent in his resignation and left India. He was clearly in ill health, for he died shortly before reaching England.

Anderson, who eventually succeeded him, was apparently doubtful whether the Directors of the United Company (formed under Godolphin's Award, 1708) would appoint him to the vacancy, and so to make things sure he sent home four of his sermons. The texts of his sermons, which we quote, certainly indicate the disorders of the Settlement, which the preacher boldly denounced.

(i) St. Matt. v. 44: " But I say unto you, Love your enemies." (ii) St. James ii. 16: " Where envying and strife is, there is confusion and every evil work." (iii) Titus iii. 1: " Put them in mind to be subject to Principalities and Powers, to obey Magistrates." (iv) Prov. xv. 10: " He that hateth reproof shall die."

Early in 1708 Anderson reported to the Bishop of London that the Church was almost ready for consecration. The Bishop of Bangor, our old friend Dr. Evans, backed up his application, and a Commission to consecrate was sent to Anderson in a sealed box. The 5th June, 1709, was a great day in Calcutta, for on it its first Church was consecrated. It was given the title of St. Ann (the mother of the blessed Virgin), as a compliment to the reigning Sovereign, Queen Anne. Amongst others who sent gifts was the Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which sent a silver chalice. A steeple was added to the Church in 1712, when a bell was sent out from England.

Mr. Hyde, in his *Parochial Annals*, gives us several specimens of the last wills of the early Chaplains of Calcutta. They nearly all, run in the following manner :—

" In the Name of God, Amen. I . . . . . being of a sound mind and perfect memory, but of an infirm state of health, do declare this my last Will and Testament.

First I recommend my soul into the hands of Almighty God as a Faithful Creator: which I humbly beseech Him to accept of His Own boundless and infinite Mercy, looking upon it not as it is in itself, infinitely polluted with sin, but as it is redeemed and purged by the Precious Blood of His dearly beloved Son, my Saviour Jesus Christ, in confidence of Whose Merits and Mediation I cast myself upon the Mercy of God for the pardon of my sins and the hopes of eternal life.

"As for my body I bequeath it to the earth, from whence it was taken, to be decently buried, but with as little charge as possible.

"As for my worldly goods, after the payment of all my lawful debts and demands, I dispose them as follows."

Anderson died September 1710, in the forty-second year of his age. After Anderson's death the Chaplaincy was vacant two years. Then came three Chaplains in fairly rapid succession, all of whom died young.

Captain Hamilton, speaking of Calcutta Church, uses the following language: "Ministers of the Gospel being subject to mortality, very often young merchants are obliged to officiate, and have a salary of £50 a year, added to what the Company allowes them, for their pains in reading Prayers and sermons on Sundays."

The first of Anderson's successors was the Rev. Samuel Briercliffe, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge. He arrived in Calcutta in August 1713, when he was only twenty-seven years of age. He was a man of considerable earnestness. "He landed in Bengal full of zeal to promote the projects of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. One of these was the establishment of Charity Schools at the Indian Settlement; trusting partly, no doubt, to the Company's paying the school-masters as required by the Charter. Briercliffe's efforts were unfortunately unsuccessful, as the idea did not at that time find favour in Calcutta. It did, however, later on, and to Briercliffe belongs the credit of having first put forward the idea of a Charity School in 1713, which was destined, when started, to continue up to the present day, first of all as the Charity School and then as the famous Free School. We may therefore say of him "that he being dead, yet speaketh." Briercliffe was a large-minded and generous man. He gave the Rev. Richard Cobbe considerable assistance with the building

of his Church at Bombay and, though quite a poor man, sent himself a generous subscription of Rs. 100.

During his Chaplaincy the Court of Directors made an important decision which, in spite of changes of English life in India, continues to the present day. They ordered their Presidents and Council to send annually "an account, with a proper title and certificate in form, signed and the time when done by the Chaplain for the time being, of the Europeans' Marriages, Births, or Burials within his Parish or Precinct, and on two or more ships send duplicates thereof." They add the following: "This may be sometimes absolutely necessary for the benefit of the persons married and especially born there, and without it they may suffer very greatly, as we have had experience in two or three instances." Briercliffe died in August 1717, aged thirty-one. He had never married.

After his death two years and five months elapsed before his successor was appointed. During this period Henry Frankland, who was afterwards Governor of Fort William, acted as Churchwarden of St. Ann's, and conducted official business. The two Factory Surgeons read Divine Service, and the junior of the two received a reward of Sikka Rs.400, "being the usual gratuity allowed by the Company to their Chaplains over and above their stated salary and allowances."

About this period we have a quaint account of the religious state of Calcutta, given by Alexander Hamilton:—

"In Calcutta all religions are freely tolerated, but the Presbyterian: and that they brow-beat. The Pagans carry their idols in procession through the town. The Roman Catholics have their Church to lodge their idols in, and the Mahomedan is not discountenanced; but there are no polemics except between our High Church men and our Low, or between the Governor's party and other private merchants on points of trade."

Of Briercliffe's two successors little need be said. The Rev. Joshua Thomlinson, who immediately succeeded him, did not arrive in Calcutta till January 23, 1720. He had been Company's Chaplain at St. Helena for twelve years. His career in India lasted a little over four months, and his widow barely survived him. Even in this short period Thomlinson had realised the need of a school for the poor Anglo-Indian children. We find that both he and his wife

bequeathed something from their small estate towards this deserving object. There is an interesting sentence in Mrs. Thomlinson's will next to that in which this bequest is made: "I give my slave wench Nancy, which I left along with Mrs. Elizabeth Lacy in St. Helena, her freedom. I give forty rupees towards a Charity School in Calcutta."

There was again an interval of nearly two years before the arrival of the next Chaplain, the Rev. Joseph Paget of Jesus College, Cambridge, who in his second year, while on tour, died and was buried at Dacca. He was quite a young man, only twenty-six.

Calcutta seems indeed to have been a most unhealthy place at this period, for in one year out of twelve hundred Europeans there were four hundred burials. Hamilton's description of the medical arrangements is, as might be expected, somewhat original: "The Company has a pretty good Hospital at Calcutta, where many go in to undergo the grievance of physic, but few come out to give account of its operation"!

One can imagine the post of Chaplain of Calcutta had begun to bear a rather unenviable reputation, when there arrived a Chaplain in middle life, thirty-six years of age, the Rev. Gervase Bellamy, who, as Mr. Hyde describes, was destined to set the climate at defiance for thirty years, and then to perish, not by an Indian sickness, but by suffocation in the Black Hole tragedy.

The Calcutta which Mr. Bellamy found on his arrival has been described for us by Mr. Hyde. The principal European residences clustered round what is called to-day Dalhousie Square, in a place which was then called "The Park." The Fort William of those days, where the Governor and his Council resided, was between "The Park" and the River, and was far removed from its present site. The Church of St. Ann with its tall spire faced the Fort. From the south-west corner of the Fort was a road which led by a Ghat to the Hospital and burial-ground. A creek came away from the river to the south of the Fort, passed the old burial-ground, and wandered inland in a rather devious course, dividing the village of Chowringhee from the English Settlement. The present famous Maidan was then a tiger-haunted jungle, very swampy and marshy towards Chowringhee. Beyond the English Settlement were four villages, mud and bamboo, one of them whose name lingers on in the

famous Chowringhee. Leading away from the English Settlement towards Chowringhee was a road now called Bow Bazar, on the other side of which houses of wealthy independent merchants and rich Indians had already begun to appear. The English had begun to make themselves very comfortable. They had, so Hamilton tells us, a Company Garden (the forerunner of Company Gardens which in due course spread all over India in Mofussil stations) "that furnishes the Governor's table with herbage and fruits; and some fish-ponds to serve his kitchen with good carp, calkops, and mullet."

Its social life was already becoming markedly gay. According to Hamilton, "Most gentlemen and ladies in Bengal live both splendidly and pleasantly: the forenoons being dedicated to business and after dinner to rest, and in the evening recreate themselves in chaises or palanquins in the fields, or to gardens, or by water in their budgeroes, which is a convenient boat that goes swiftly with the force of oars. On the river sometimes there is the diversion of fishing or fowling, or both; and before night they make friendly visits to one another, when pride or contention do not spoil society, which too often they do among the ladies, as discord and faction do among men. . . . The garrison of Fort William generally consists of two or three hundred soldiers, more for to convey their fleet from Patna with the Company's saltpetre, and piece-goods, raw silk, and some opium belonging to other merchants, than for the defence of the Fort."

To Bellamy belongs the actual honour of having started the Charity School. Its first schoolmaster was a Goanese Friar named Aquiare, whom Bellamy received into the Church of England in 1730.

It seems that through the munificence of a Mr. Bourchier, afterwards Governor of Bombay, and others a very fine school-house was built in 1731 on the present site of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church. This school-house turned out to be far too big for the number of pupils attending; and so it was decided to let a considerable portion of it to the recently appointed Calcutta Corporation. The Corporation found it convenient to use the rooms which they thus acquired, for offices and committees. Finally, the school was withdrawn to another and more suitable building, and the house became known as the Court House.

The rent paid by the Corporation to the Charity School Committee enabled the school to be carried on successfully. Eventually the Court House was abandoned and dismantled, and on its site the present Presbyterian Church of St. Andrew was built.

Bellamy had several assistants during his long incumbency. One rather famous one, the Rev. Charles Webber, B.D., Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, displeased the Company so greatly by his visiting their Factories without licence that he was dismissed. Another, the Rev. John Mapletoft, of Clare College, Cambridge, was apparently a young man of considerable ability. He arrived in the autumn of 1750. To him Bellamy made over charge of the Charity School, and by his energy the school seems to have benefited greatly.

Copying the boys of the Blue Coat School in London, they wore blue cassocks, but unlike their brothers in London, without yellow stockings and buckled shoes.

Mapletoft was a good linguist. After mastering Portuguese, he applied for a transfer to Murshedabad for the purpose of studying Persian at the seat of the Mughal Viceroy. Ere he got permission he had married and abandoned the idea.

About this time irreligion and immorality were again very marked in Calcutta, and the Council received a series of strong despatches from the Court about it. The Governor was ordered to attend Church and to interest himself in the moral life of the community.

Trinity Sunday, 1756, was the last Sunday in which Divine Service was held in St. Ann's. Already the Mughal army was approaching Calcutta, and before many days the Settlement was in ruins. The story of this disaster can only be briefly told. For certain reasons Suraj-ud-Doula, the Nawab of Bengal, had conceived a bitter hatred against the British. Though only a youth, he had already gained an evil reputation for vice of all kinds as well as for cruelty. His aunt, Ghasita Begum, a wealthy and ambitious woman, on the death of her father, the old Nawab, anxious to preserve her fortune, sent away a large portion of it to Calcutta, to the care of the afterwards notorious Omichand, a Hindu merchant. Suraj-ud-Doula, already convinced that the English were opposed to his succession, on hearing where the treasure was, believed that the English were assisting

his enemies. For this reason he determined to capture Calcutta. Several weeks' warning had been given of his intention, but the Governor, who, according to Clive, was more interested in his own property than anything else, made quite inadequate preparations to meet the Mughal attack, and summoned no extra troops to his assistance.

The first brush with the enemy took place on Wednesday, June 16, 1756, when an English battery broke up an advanced party at Chitpore and caused a temporary check. On Thursday, however, the English being forced to return, burnt the neighbouring bazaars and retreated within the Fort. On Friday the enemy appeared in enormous numbers. Our outposts were speedily driven in, and everything outside the Fort, including the Church, was abandoned. All Englishwomen were ordered on board the ships lying off the Fort, and all Friday night was spent in meeting the now inevitable storming.

Daybreak on Saturday saw every available man hard at work at the defences of the Fort, native labour being then quite unprocurable. Holwell, in his genuine narrative of the "Deplorable deaths of the English Gentlemen and others who were suffocated in the Black Hole," states :—

"Early on the morning of the 19th, the President, Mr. Mackett, the Rev. Mr. Mapletoft and myself and others were employed in cutting open the bales of cotton and filling it in bags to carry it up on the parapets. . . . Shortly after this Mapletoft and some others went on board the *Diligence* to take farewell of their wives and children. When about to return to their posts they saw to their astonishment two boats hastily leaving the Fort, in which were the Governor Drake, the senior Commandant-Captain Minchin, and other officers and factors, who stated that the Fort was in the enemy's hands, and that all was over. By the Governor's order every ship, vessel and boat lying off the fort immediately cast off its moorings and dropped down stream."

It was certainly one of the most discreditable acts ever committed by a British Governor and Commander of troops. They had left behind them at least one hundred and fifty men, brave and true, who under the command of Holwell, continued the defence of the Fort for another thirty hours. The Governor, in his panic and cowardice, had ordered away every ship and so made it impossible for this brave little garrison to escape, even if they desired to do so.

By six o'clock on Sunday evening the Nawab was in possession of the Fort and on that hot June night one hundred and forty-six prisoners, some of them wounded, were forced by his orders into the Black Hole, a room eighteen feet square with only two small grated windows, and, despite their agonising appeals, were left there to suffocate. By day-break only twenty-three remained alive. It is a tale of horror unrelieved by anything save the magnificent courage displayed by those who had refused to flee. Of one of these heroes, Leach, the Company's smith and clerk of the parish, Holwell tells us, "This man had made his escape when the Moors entered the fort and returned just as it was dark to tell me he had provided a boat and would ensure my escape, if I would follow him through a passage very few were acquainted with, and by which he had then entered. I thanked him in the best terms I was able; but told him it was a step I could not prevail on myself to take, as I should thereby very ill repay the attachment the gentlemen and the garrison had shown to me; and that I was resolved to share their fate, be it what it would, but pressed him to secure his own escape without loss of time, to which he gallantly replied that then he was resolved to share mine and would not leave me."

Holwell himself was amongst the few survivors of that awful night. During the night, he tells us, "my poor friend Edward Eyre, the brother of the Dean of Wells, came staggering over the dead to me, and with his usual coolness and good nature, asked me how I did; but fell and expired before I had time to make him a reply." Later still he says: "I found a stupor coming on apace, and laid myself down by that gallant old man the Rev. Gervase Bellamy, who lay dead with his son, the Lieutenant, hand in hand, near the southernmost wall of the prison."

CHAPTER V

CALCUTTA (*continued*), 1757—1794

Period.—England: George III. and IV. India: Further growth of Mahratta power.

DURING the temporary occupation of Calcutta by the troops of the Mughal, the English Settlement was wantonly wrecked, and St. Ann's, our first English Church, was reduced to a heap of ruins. Curiously enough, neither the Roman Catholic Church at Moorgihatta (our Lady of the Rosary), nor the Armenian Church, was injured at all. For the three following years the English residents worshipped in the Portuguese Church, and no French or Portuguese priest was allowed inside the Settlement. The hostility they had shown for so long to the English, coupled with the fact that it was known that they had been intriguing with the enemy in the recent trouble, had raised such a bitter feeling that even their worship was for a time proscribed in Calcutta. It was known, however, that the Court of Directors in London did not approve of this peculiar method of retaliation, and as things became more normal and bitter feelings passed away, the English community itself was unwilling that this state of things should continue. A minute of the Calcutta Council, dated March 24, 1760, reads as follows: "That taking into consideration the unwholesomeness and dampness of the Church now in use, as well as the injustice of detaining it from the Portuguese. . ." Accordingly a large room near the gateway of the old Fort was fitted up as a Chapel, which served as the Presidency Church for twenty-seven years, until the building of St. John's.

During the months which immediately followed his return, Clive was actively engaged in making preparations for the inevitable contest with the Mughal which he knew must be faced. How well he laid his plans and with what brilliant courage he led his tiny army against the Mughal hordes in

June 1757, and won the epoch-making victory at Plassy, need not here be told.

On his return to Calcutta Clive at once took in hand the laying of the foundations of a new and much more powerful Fort William and the rebuilding of the Settlement.

The Chaplain first appointed to Calcutta after its recovery was the Rev. Richard Cobbe, whose father had taken so important a part in the building of what is now Bombay Cathedral. Cobbe had been Chaplain on H.M.S. *Kent*, and was with Admiral Watson in several naval actions. An amusing story is told of him, that, when a certain Nawab was paying a visit to the Admiral, Cobbe with the rest of the officers of the *Kent* was by the Admiral's orders in full dress. His dress was the conventional style of the period for Clergy, viz. cassock with gown and bands, and a three-cornered hat and wig. Seeing him differently attired from the rest of the officers of the ship, the Nawab asked who he was. On learning, that he was the Chaplain, he at once sent for his own "Chaplain," who turned out to be a half-crazy Fakir with an immense beard and knotted hair, and who, save for a loin cloth and a quantity of iron chains, was quite naked. "The two holy men congratulated each other on their respective offices, and seated themselves in the company."

Cobbe officiated but for a short time. His early death was the result of wounds received at the taking of Chandanagore. In his will he left a certain sum to a girl in England (whom he evidently wished to marry), *if* she was not engaged before a certain date!

Not long afterwards there arrived in Calcutta from South India the Rev. John Zachary Kiernander, whose name must always be famous amongst Indian missionaries. He was a Swede by race, but had been trained at Halle, and was one of many foreigners—Germans, Danes, and Swedes—who had been employed in missionary work in South India by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. After labouring for seventeen years in the Madras Presidency, Cuddalore, where his mission was located, was taken by the French, and his work stopped. While in a state of uncertainty as to the possibility of restarting work, he received an invitation from Clive to come and work in Calcutta. He arrived there in September 1758, and was received with marked favour by Clive and other members

of the Bengal Council. A house was assigned to him rent free. The Rev. Henry Butler and the Rev. John Cape, who were then Chaplains of Calcutta, were also most friendly, and opened a subscription list for a school, which he proposed to start. Clive had a feeling of warm friendship for Kiernander, as was evident from the fact that he and his wife stood sponsors at the baptism of Kiernander's son, who was named Robert after his distinguished god-father.

The following year, 1761, was an Annus Miserabilis for the Church in Calcutta, as both Chaplains were carried away in a terrible epidemic of cholera, and Kiernander also lost his wife Wendela. He himself nearly died, having no less than six relapses. In the following year Kiernander married for a second time a wealthy widow, Mrs. Wolley, which led a contemporary writer to remark sarcastically that "the remembrance of all his former sorrows was obliterated in the silken embraces of opulent beauty."

Of Henry Butler, Hyde remarks that, from the time of Evans to this period, Butler was the only Chaplain of whom we have direct evidence that he engaged in private trade. As he died almost bankrupt in spite of the endeavours of his friends to straighten out his affairs, it is evident that he was by no means successful in his enterprises.

Things were still very unsettled in Bengal and Bihar in 1763. An insurrection was only nipped in the bud, and in 1764 Calcutta was horrified at the news of the treacherous massacre of 150 English people at Patna by the dethroned Nawab of Bengal. It is interesting to note that a fortnight's mourning was proclaimed in Calcutta, beginning with a day of fasting!

Butler's immediate successor as Chaplain was a Mr. Stavely, a Cambridge graduate, who had been a Chaplain in the Navy. He died within a few months of taking over charge. He was succeeded by the Rev. William Hurst, a Fellow of the Royal Society, who was one of the most distinguished Chaplains who ever served in India. He held his Chaplaincy for two years only. Later on he was appointed as Chaplain to a Commission to investigate the state of things in Bengal. The frigate on which the Commission sailed left the Cape of Good Hope, December 27, 1769, and was never heard of again.

Kiernander was a whole-hearted missionary. His missionary zeal, however, led him just as strongly towards

the conversion of the Roman Catholic community as it did towards that of the non-Christian world. After eight years' work in Calcutta, he reported to the S.P.C.K. that from December 1, 1758, to the end of the year 1766, he had made 189 converts, of whom one-half were Romanists, one-third the children of Roman Catholic parents, and thirty were heathen. Of his Roman Catholic converts no less than five were priests of that Church. Several of the priests afterwards assisted in his work.

In 1767 Kiernander conceived the idea of building a permanent Church. The foundations were laid in May of that year, and it was completed three and a half years later. He himself always called it Beth Tephillah (House of Prayer). The architect was a Dane. The original estimate for Rs.30,000 was exceeded by as much again. Its cost was met almost entirely out of his own (or his wife's) pocket, as private subscriptions only amounted to Rs.1818, and the S.P.C.K. gave nothing. Canon Sandys, in his *One Hundred and Forty-five Years at the Old Church*, quotes the following passage from an unnamed writer, in which eloquent tribute is paid to Kiernander:—

"It is no small thing that he, mainly at his own expense, erected a Church where no Church was, and thus restored to the inhabitants of the chief city of British India the long-forfeited privileges of worshipping God in a public place consecrated to His Service. Calcutta was without a Protestant Church, and without a Protestant Church it would have remained many years longer, if Kiernander had not thought of erecting one for missionary purposes at his own expense."

Certainly no Church in India has passed through such strange vicissitudes of fortune, or has ministered more effectively to the spiritual needs of men, than has the Old Mission Church in Calcutta. Seventeen years after its erection this Church was actually up for sale. Kiernander had stood surety for his son Robert for a large sum of money. Some building operations in which his son was engaged had turned out badly, and his creditors demanded immediate payment. All Kiernander's property was marked down for sale, including the Church, and sold it would have been had not a wealthy and devout Churchman, Mr. Charles Grant, stepped forward and paid anonymously Rs.10,000, the price at which this building, which had cost Rs.70,000,

was valued. The Church, which before this seems to have been Kiernander's private property (for though he was an agent of S.P.C.K. they had apparently given nothing towards its erection), was then transferred to three Trustees : the Rev. David Brown, Mr. William Chambers, and Mr. Charles Grant.

From this time onwards this Church became famous as a great centre of evangelicalism in India. Here preachers such as David Brown, Claudius Buchanan, Henry Martyn, Daniel Corrie (first Bishop of Madras), and Dealtry (third Bishop of Madras) and many others drew large crowds, which often included the leaders of Calcutta society. More than once the Church was enlarged, big sums being spent on improvements to meet the constant demands of its large and important congregation. Of late years, it must be admitted, the old Mission Church, though still an important Church with various institutions connected with it (which are cared for by the Church Missionary Society), has lost something of its ancient glory, mainly owing to the change in Calcutta life. The leaders of Calcutta society no longer live in the neighbourhood of the Lal Dighi—Dalhousie Square—as they once did, and Churches like St. Paul's Cathedral and St. John's attract many who a century ago would have been found worshipping every Sunday in the Old Church.

Kiernander's closing days were clouded with sorrow. He had lost his second wife in 1773, and in 1778 his eye-sight was seriously affected. An operation in 1782 gave him temporary relief, but as old age came on his eye-sight entirely failed. Bankrupt, almost blind, cut off by physical weakness from his beloved mission work, he presented indeed a pitiable old figure. Only once again did he appear in public, when the new chancel of his Old Church was opened. On that occasion he administered the Blessed Sacrament, and expressed great joy at the improvements to the Church. Seeing his destitution, Mr. David Brown wrote to the S.P.C.K., who sent him £40. He ministered to the Dutch Settlement at Chinsurah during the latter years of his life, and died at the advanced age of 88. A tablet was erected to his memory in the Mission Cemetery by his great-grandson. A portrait of the old man was painted in 1773 by Christof Von Imhoff, which was unfortunately destroyed some twenty-five years ago. An engraving of the original painting

is in the Old Church vestry, Calcutta, and underneath it is the following inscription, supposed to have been written by Kiernander himself :—

"Johann Zachrias Kiernander,
born in Sweden on 1st December 1710, Went
in 1739 as English Missionary to Cuddalore, Founded
in 1758 the Mission in Bengal, and built for the same
out of his own money a Church which he called
Beth Tephillah.

"Not to thy wintry Sweden, No,
Thou must and wilt
To Ganges as God's herald go."

After the building of the Old Mission Church, one of the biggest events in Church life in Calcutta was the building of St. John's Church, which was for over thirty years our first Cathedral in India. The prime mover in its building was the Rev. W. Johnson, an Oxford graduate, who arrived in Calcutta as second Chaplain in 1772, two years after Kiernander's Church was finished. Johnson was a man of immense energy, great assurance, and not easily discouraged by opposition. In 1776, while still Junior Chaplain (the Senior Chaplain, Dr. Brown, seems to have taken little or no part in this Church-building scheme), Johnson sent out his appeal to the Governor-General and Council. He refers to the destruction of St. Ann's in terms which make it apparent that he thought it had been built entirely at the expense of the East India Company. He dwelt on the want of room in the Fort Chapel, which could hardly accommodate one-twentieth of the Protestants of Calcutta. Johnson's letter was received favourably by Warren Hastings and his Council, who, however, stated that they did not believe they had any power to comply with it, but would send it on to the Court of Directors in London. The Court of Directors, however, were not prepared to spend money at that time, and so for seven years the matter was allowed to drop.

Johnson, however, was not the man to abandon hope. Even if the Company had refused to build a Church at their expense, there were other ways of raising money. A public subscription list was opened, and a strong appeal was made to the Provincial Grand Lodge of Bengal, of which he was Chaplain. Nearly every one responded to the appeal, and by 1783 nearly Rs.35,000 had been collected. Warren

Hastings took a keen personal interest in the matter, and through his influence the Maharajah Nob Kissen (Nobo Krishna Dey) was willing to part with a piece of ground measuring six bighas, close to the old burying-ground and known as the Old Powder Magazine Yard. Warren Hastings, when informing the Church Building Committee of this great act of generosity of the Maharajah in giving them the ground, omitted to state that the gift had cost him personally ten thousand rupees!

But Rs.35,000 was not half the sum needed to build the Church which they desired to erect, and so after much discussion it was decided to raise the money by a Lottery. Mr. Hyde, in his *Parochial Annals of Bengal*, gives us such an amusing and interesting account of this event, which held Calcutta in a state of the greatest excitement for five months, that his words may well be quoted somewhat fully.

"According to the fashion of the time, the first idea of the Building Committee with a view of raising funds was a scheme for a lottery, and the first number of 'the *Calcutta Gazette and Oriental Advertiser* published by authority'—that for the 11th March, 1784—contains full details of the enterprise. A Mr. Bartholomew Hartley, a Company's surgeon—not a member of the Committee—lent his name as the leading promoter. There were to be three thousand tickets at ten gold mohurs or 160 sicca rupees each, of which 335 were to indicate prizes, the largest of which was fixed at 100,000 and the smallest at 500 sicca rupees. In addition to these prizes the holder of the first ticket drawn from the wheel was to receive sicca Rs.10,000, and the holder of the last double that amount. The whole of the proceeds of the sale of tickets, namely 480,000 sicca rupees, were to be assigned away in prizes, the profit of the Building Committee being a charge of five per cent. upon each prize, a further five per cent. being charged for expenses. A special Lottery Commission of nine gentlemen was appointed to carry the scheme into execution.

"For the next five months the lottery was the furore of the Settlement. Not a number of the *Gazette* was issued without a column or more devoted to its prospects. Speculators, of course, invested in the tickets and retailed fractional chances. On Friday, August 6, 1784, the drawing commenced with great ceremony at the Old Court House. The wheels, it would seem, were turned by boys of the

Charity School. Each of these boys (judging from the frequent allusions in the Vestry minutes of the next few years to 'Lottery boy' with a small bonus reckoned to each name) appears to have been rewarded for his service by some small interest in the adventure, his profits being made over to him by the Vestry on leaving school. The scene of the drawing must have been one of the utmost gaiety and excitement. The great Assembly Room was crowded with all the fashion of Calcutta, a band of music playing between whiles. The first ticket drawn out of the wheel—most likely by a charity infant—was number 1359, which turned out a blank; nevertheless it entitled its owner to 10,000 rupees. After two or three hundred numbers had been drawn the proceedings ceased for the day, and the market price of the remaining tickets went up from ten to thirteen gold mohurs. The drawings continued ten days, the value of the surviving chances rising day by day—after the second to fifteen, after the third to twenty, after the fourth to twenty-five and thirty-five sicca rupees, and so on, evidently the chief prizes continuing undrawn, the last-drawn ticket on the last day representing the advertised 20,000 sicca rupees. The *Gazette* of the 19th August contains some racy satirical verses upon the whole proceedings, of which the following is a specimen :—

'TO A FRIEND.

'Dear Jack, the Lott'ry being done,
And all the blanks and prizes gone,
For your amusement, I'll describe,
Well as I can, th' advent'rous tribe.
Had you been here, you'd seen such faces,
Such frowns, such smiles, such airs and graces!
The happy few, with bright'ned eyes,
Enjoy'd and triumph'd, in their prize;
While some, with visage wond'rous lank,
Sunk at the dreadful sound of—Blank!
These told the joyful tale about,
Those damn'd their luck, and waddl'd out,
Each with his numbers in his fist,
Groan'd as he marked them off the list.
Yet still, in expectation's rack,
Hop'd he should gain the glorious Lack.
Till empty wheels, the latter day,
Puff'd all his golden hopes away.

Here might you see in brilliant rows
Beauties balloon'd and powder'd beaus.
Such anxious fidgets,—"How d'ye feel?"
"Lord, sir, my ticket's in the wheel."
"I hope, dear ma'am, 'twill be a prize."
"I hope so too"—dear ma'am replies.

Oh, but, dear Jack, I'll tell you partly
Of Breakfast given by Doctor H——y.
For I could only go to one,
And just dropped in as that was done,
A concert too and then a dance,
This H——y sure was bred in France ;
For all was manag'd with such grace,
That satisfaction mark'd each face.
The lengthen'd table filled the room,
And joy revived the ancient dome ;
Here art and nature spread their hoard,
And joined to crown the plenteous board.

The breakfast o'er, they fly
To platform raised some three feet high ;
Full in the front of all, where they
Might view the business of the day.

' Calcutta, August 22nd, 1784. A. B.'

" The actual amount realised for the Church-Building Fund by the lottery was Rs.26,088–6–8, besides Rs.10,764–12–9 received from the prizes. Doubtless some of the adventurers had presented their tickets to the Fund.

" In the meanwhile the erection of the sacred edifice was going on rapidly. On Tuesday, April 6, 1784, the Governor-General being then up-country, Mr. Wheeler, Senior Member of Council, gave a public breakfast at the Old Court House, at which were present the other members of Council and many of the principal inhabitants of Calcutta.

" From the Court House they proceeded to the ground upon which the new Church was to be built, and the first stone was laid by Mr. Wheler with the usual ceremonies (that is to say, Masonic ceremonies).

" A prayer was read upon the occasion by the Rev. Mr. Johnson, head Chaplain of this Presidency.

" The following is the inscription on the foundation-stone :

" ' The first stone of this sacred building,
Raised by the liberal and voluntary
Subscription of British subjects
And others,
Was laid under the auspices of
The Hon'ble Warren Hastings, Esquire,
Governor of India,
On the 6th day of the month of April 1784,
And the 13th year of his Government.'

" The inscription plate was of brass, and cost C. Rs.232. It was at first intended to build the spire on the spot where

the old magazine stood, but this would have brought the Altar to the west instead of to the east end, and it must have been for this reason that the idea was abandoned, and the foundations laid wholly (unless those of the eastern portico be excepted) within the limits of the old burying-ground, with the spire as it now stands, at the west. Mr. Law, on March 23, offered to provide the Church with a stone gateway, the stone to be brought from Gaya. If this gateway were ever erected, it has long since disappeared.

"In July arrangements were made for procuring building stone from the ruins of the old city of Gaur, and the blue marble for the flooring of the Church from the tombs of the kings existing there. The Committee transactions, after this date, show that large quantities of stone were imported from Chunar. The steeple is wholly built with this material.

"The work of construction was carried on with great vigour, and Sunday, June 24, 1787, was eventually fixed as the day of Consecration. Numerous gifts, some of great value, poured in for the new Church. The Court of Directors granted £1200 towards the provision of Communion plate; an organ, a clock, bells, and velvet for the pulpit, desk, and Communion table.

"About this time Mr. John Zoffany, a Royal Academician, was in Calcutta engaged in painting a great picture of the Last Supper. Drawn into the atmosphere of the prevailing enthusiasm for the new Church, he offered this picture to the Committee as an Altar piece. The Committee's acceptance of Mr. Zoffany's gift is worth recording:—

"'We should do a violence to your delicacy were we to express or endeavour to express in such terms as the occasion calls for our sense of the favour you have conferr'd upon the Settlement by presenting to their place of worship so capital a painting that it would adorn the first Church in Europe, and should excite in the breasts of its spectators those sentiments of virtue and piety which are so happily pourtrayed in its figures.'

"It is believed that the Apostles in this famous picture, which now hangs at the west end of St. John's, are mostly portraits of leading merchants in Calcutta, and that Father Parthenio, the Greek Clergyman, sat for the figure of our Lord. There is a tradition that Mr. Tulloh, a wealthy auctioneer, finding his portrait in this picture on the shoulders of Judas Iscariot, took an action against Zoffany for libel.

"The Church cost over a lakh of rupees. A Commission to consecrate was sent out by the Archbishop of Canterbury, constituting Johnson his Surrogate at the Consecration. The Consecration took place, as was arranged, on St. John Baptist's Day, 1787, June 24.

"The *Gazette* of June 28 records the solemn event in the following manner :—

"'A very numerous and respectable company of ladies and gentlemen assembled on this occasion. The Right Honourable the Governor-General, General Carnack, Colonel Ross, Colonel Pearce, Sir Robert Chambers, Mr. Justice Hyde, etc., etc., were of the number. After the act of Consecration was performed a collection was made amongst the audience, which we hear amounted to sicca rupees three thousand. A sermon was then preached by the Rev. Mr. Johnson, who chose for his text on this occasion a part of the last verse of the 93rd Psalm, "Holiness becometh Thy House for ever," after which the Sacrament was administered, and the whole was concluded with the Consecration of the Church ground.'

"Amongst those strangers who attended the Consecration Service by special invitation was the Priest of the Armenians, a community always treated with marked friendship by the English in Calcutta.

"About this time the cost of living in Calcutta seems to have gone up considerably. Whereas in 1759 the wages of a cook per month were Rs.5, in 1785 they had risen to Rs.30. A syce or groom in 1759 received Rs.2, in 1785 Rs.6; washerman to a family received in 1759 Rs.3, in 1785 Rs.20.

"Taking this fact into consideration, the pay of the senior Chaplains was for a time raised from Rs.580 per mensem to Rs.1200. It was, however, later on again brought back to the old figure, to the great disappointment and embarrasment of many of the Chaplains. At the earlier period, during Clive's administration, some Chaplains had been allowed a share in the salt, betel-nut, and tobacco monopoly, and we read that Mr. Parry, a Calcutta Chaplain, had in the first year received his share of the dividends of £2824 sterling and at the close of the second £2221. The Calcutta Chaplains' fees, however, seem to have been very liberal, as we read that at baptism five gold mohurs were frequently presented, and as much as twenty gold mohurs at a wedding.

"In 1780 the Court of Directors complained to the Council about the irregular transmission of records of Births, Deaths, and Marriages, which led to a fresh order being passed to all Chaplains in the Presidency to 'send in duplicate complete registers,' which are to be sent to England."

Mr. Hyde, in his *Parochial Annals of Bengal*, gives us a number of extracts from the brilliant, if frivolous, letters of Sophie Goldborne, representing life in Calcutta during this period. They represent certain aspects of its society so vividly that they are well worth quoting.

"I have been at Church, my dear girl, in my new palanquin (the mode of genteel conveyance), where *all* ladies are approached, by sanction of ancient custom, by *all* gentlemen indiscriminately, known or unknown, with offers of their hand to conduct them to their seat; accordingly, those gentlemen who wish to change their condition (which, between ourselves, are chiefly old fellows, for the young ones either chuse country-born ladies for wealth, or, having left their hearts behind them, enrich themselves, in order to be united to their favourite Dulcineas in their native land), on hearing of a ship's arrival, make a point of repairing to this holy dome, and eagerly tender their services to the fair strangers; who, if this stolen view happens to captivate, often without undergoing the ceremony of a formal introduction, receive matrimonial overtures, and, becoming brides in the utmost possible splendor, have their rank instantaneously established, and are visited and paid every honour to which the consequence of their husbands entitles them. But not so your friend; for, having accompanied my father to India, no overtures of that nature will be attempted, previous to an acquaintance with him, or at least under his encouraging auspices, nor did any gentleman break in upon the circle of any surrounding intimates, on this first public exhibition of my person, though every male creature in Calcutta entitled to that privilege bid Mr. and Mrs. Hartly expect an early visit from them.

"On my mentioning the Church, you will perhaps fancy I ought to recount to you it's magnificence and style of architecture; but the edifice dignified at present with that appellation does not deserve notice. It is situated at the Old Fort, and consists solely of a ground floor, with an arrangement of plain pews; nor is the Governor himself much better accommodated than the rest; and of course

the Padra, as the Clergyman is called, has little to boast of: the windows are, however, verandahs which are pleasing to me in their appearance, independent of the blessing of air enjoyed through them.

"At Calcutta Sunday is the only day of public devotion, and that only in the morning; though the Padra's salary is liberal and his perquisites immense."

In another place she speaks of weddings:—

"Weddings here, Arabella, are very joyous things to all parties; especially, I should suppose, to the Padra or Clergyman, who frequently receives twenty gold mohurs for his trouble of performing the ceremony. The bride and bride-groom's friends assemble, all elegantly dressed, at one or other of the young couple's nearest relatives, and are most sumptuously entertained; and the congratulatory visits on the occasion put the whole town in motion. It is a festival, which I have not, however, the smallest desire to treat my friends with; for even was my choice fixed, and every obstacle obviated, I should have unconquerable objections to making so public an exhibition of myself on so solemn a change of condition . . . an idea I cannot say I have in common with my acquaintances; for I have reason to believe I am the only person in Calcutta, not even my well-beloved Mrs. Hartly excepted, that has the same idea in this instance . . . which is entirely the effect of custom."

Later on she describes the funerals of the period:—

"Funerals are indeed solemn and affecting things at Calcutta, no hearses being here introduced, or hired mourners employed; for, as it often happens in the gay circles, that a friend is dined with one day and the next in eternity . . . the feelings are interested, the sensations awful, and the mental question, for the period of interment at least, which will be to-morrow's victim? The departed one, of whatever rank, is carried on men's shoulders (like your walking funerals in England), and a procession of gentlemen equally numerous and respectable from the extent of genteel connexions, following . . . the well-situated and the worthy being universally esteemed and caressed whilst living, and lamented when dead. The Padra, however, has his ample profits; who performs this last pious act with the greatest propriety: but such is the elasticity of European minds, that the ensuing day, the tavern is again visited by those

very gentlemen, who know, and acknowledge it to have been the bane of their lost friend."

In another letter she describes the cemeteries, those now known as of Park Street North and South :—

"The house of prayer at Calcutta is not the house of sepulchre. Burying-grounds are provided some miles from the town, which I am given to understand are well worth the visit of a stranger. I will only add that though this measure may have arisen from the fervid heat of this climate (where death is busy) which gives the idea of rapid putridity, yet surely it is disgracing the temple of the Divinity (admitting even that in England no bad consequence results from such deposits) to make it a charnel-house."

And later :—

"Alas! Arabella, the Bengal burying-grounds (for there are two of them), though they greatly resemble that Churchyard (of St. Pancras, London) in monumental erections, bear a melancholy testimony to the truth of my observations on the short date of existence in this climate.

"*Born just to bloom and fade*, is the chief intelligence you receive from the abundant memorials of dissolved attachments and lamented relatives.

"Obelisks, pagodas, etc., are erected at great expense; and the whole spot is surrounded by as well-turned a walk as those you traverse in Kensington Gardens, ornamented with a double row of aromatic trees, which afford a solemn and beautiful shade : in a word, not old Windsor Churchyard, with all its cypress and yews, is in the smallest degree comparable to them : and I quitted them with unspeakable reluctance.

"There is no difference between these two grounds, but in the expense of the monuments, which denote that persons of large fortune are there interred, and *vice versâ :* whence, in order to preserve this difference in the appearance, the first ranks pay five hundred rupees, the second three hundred for opening the ground; and they are disjoined merely by a broad road."

In 1788 the Rev. William Johnson resigned his Chaplaincy after sixteen years in Calcutta, and returned to England. He had married in 1774, Mrs. Frances Watts, a lady who had previously buried three husbands. Her third husband had been a distinguished official. Possessed of considerable wealth, in addition to peculiar charm and ability which

made her a great favourite in Calcutta, she had evidently not found Johnson indispensable to her life's happiness, so that when he left India on retirement, she decided to remain there. She lived on in Calcutta to the great age of eighty-eight, and was generally known as the Begum Johnson. There is a handsome monument in St. John's Churchyard, on which a lengthy description of her life is inscribed. In her will she mentioned her husband by name, but left nothing to him.

Before closing this period some reference should be made to the Rev. John Owen, who was appointed Junior Chaplain of Calcutta at the time of Johnson's retirement. Owen's family were amongst John Wesley's most intimate friends. Educated at Charterhouse and Worcester College, Oxford, he had obtained a Fellowship at New College, Oxford. He remained in India for over twelve years, and seems to have exercised an immense influence for good in his ministry. His address to the Governor-General in Council on the importance of Government English schools for the natives anticipated by several decades the efforts of Duff and Macaulay, and reveals clearly how deeply he, Owen, thought of our big responsibilities to the people we were ruling :—

" It is by means of the English language alone that the people could in their own persons with speed and certainty prefer their complaints without trusting their interests to papers and petitions in a tongue where the ignorance or knavery of an agent so often sets down the opposite of his instructions. The Mahomedans introduced their language with their conquest, and they felt the benefit of it, not only in the immediate intercourse it afforded them with the natives, but as it became the medium of Public Business and of Records. It would be needless to recount in how many forms the use of our Language would prove a bond of Union ; no one can judge better than your Lordship of the various political benefits which would arise from it. It has been our wish to address you on the subject with a more immediate view to their moral and religious improvement."

One institution in Calcutta owes its existence to the thoughtfulness of this Chaplain. Realising the immense amount of silent and unrelieved suffering around him in the native city, he urged the starting of a native Hospital.

This Hospital, enlarged and developed, is now known as the Mayo Hospital. Of its foundation "Asiaticus" writes :—

"For the Native Hospital we are indebted to the humane suggestions and pious industry of the Rev. John Owen, Junior Chaplain of Fort William, an active pastor, who, when in Bengal, boldly wielded his pen and commented on those who presumed to infringe on the rights of the Clergy."

It is worthy of record that in the year 1793, a sum of no less than Rs.54,000 was subscribed to this object, and that Mr. Owen's name stood first on the list. It would seem that even at this early date the European Hospital in Calcutta was well established and excellently run.

Hyde has thought well to place in his *Parochial Annals* a number of Owen's letters to friends and relations, many of them on the importance of the education of the young. Though he himself never married, he was devoted to children. On returning from India, where he seems to have accumulated a large fortune, he was appointed Archdeacon of Richmond in Yorkshire and Chaplain-General to His Majesty's forces. He served with the Duke of Wellington's army in Belgium, and died at the age of seventy, leaving his property in Surrey, which was valued at £100,000, to his unmarried nieces.

We have already remarked on the trading Chaplains of earlier days. It is clear that there were still such means recognised by which Chaplains towards the end of the eighteenth century augmented their slender incomes, as Kiernander in his diary (though he is probably recording a bit of gossip !) speaks of Thomas Blanshard, Senior Presidency Chaplain, retiring after twenty-three years' service with a fortune of five lakhs of rupees.

Perhaps we need to be reminded that this was the eighteenth and not the twentieth century. Slavery was still common amongst Europeans in India. Even Mrs. Kiernander had her two slave-girls, who were "bound to their mistress by the bonds of affection as well as service, and one of Kiernander's Portuguese Catechists actually bequeathed to him a slave named Rebecca."

CHAPTER VI

THE S.P.C.K. MISSIONS IN SOUTH INDIA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

With some Account of two Famous Roman Catholic Missionaries.

BOOKS OF REFERENCE.—*The Church in Madras*, by the Rev. Frank Penny; *A History of Missions in India*, by Julius Richter; *The Conversion of India*, by Dr. George Smith; *Digest of S.P.G. Records*, 1701–1900; *Life of C. F. Schwartz*, by Dean Pearson; *Life of C. F. Schwartz*, by Page.

IT will, I think, be well, before entering on the special subject of this chapter, to make some reference to the labours of the Roman Catholic Church in India during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, if only to understand better the religious atmosphere in South India, when the S.P.C.K. began its work. We shall elsewhere have to describe somewhat fully the evangelisation of Travancore and Cochin, which took place during the third and fourth centuries of the Christian era. The rise of Islam had cut off East from West for many centuries, and it was certainly a revelation to the Portuguese, when they came to India in the sixteenth century, to find this large body of Christians in Travancore. While, however, the Portuguese Roman Catholic missionaries in the second half of the sixteenth century were engaged in the sacrilegious act of upsetting the old Syrian Church at Travancore and endeavouring to Romanise it, the energies of the Roman missionaries during the first half of that century were directed entirely to the conversion of non-Christians.

Most famous of all these early Roman missionaries was the great Francis Xavier. There is a picture in the vestibule of the Church of Bom Jesu at Goa which interprets his life in a striking manner. He is to be seen landing in India, and angels are coming to him from various directions, each bearing a cross. It had, been Xavier's prayer that God would send him many crosses, and that he might have

the strength to bear them. His prayer was certainly answered.

Of noble birth and highly gifted, both intellectually and spiritually, he had joined the Jesuit Order through the influence of Ignatius Loyola, when he was thirty-four years of age. The King of Portugal, who was a zealous Roman Catholic, had been dissatisfied with the progress of Christianity in his kingdom at Goa. He appealed to the Jesuit Order, who decided to send Xavier to India. No choice from their point of view could have been wiser. Aided by the authority of the King, Xavier started for the East and landed in Goa in May 1542. Richter, from whose history we shall quote frequently in this chapter, considers that Xavier "towered head and shoulders above all other Europeans then dwelling in India or Eastern Asia—merchants and public officials as well as missionaries and priests—both in the thoroughness of his scholarship, the earnestness and fervour of his unquestionable piety, the consuming ardour of his work, his boundless self-denial and self-mortification, and his undissembled love of the truth." It is interesting to note that Xavier's whole period of service in the East lasted only ten years, for he died on the Island of Sanzian, near Canton, in May 1552. Of these ten years only four and a half were spent in India! So great, however, was the impression he left upon the men of his period that he has gone down to history as "the Apostle of India."

And yet from one point of view his work was radically defective, for he never learnt any Indian language and carried on his evangelisation by means of interpreters, many of whom were extremely ignorant. It is interesting to read what he himself says on this matter: "It is a difficult situation to find oneself in the midst of a people of strange language without an interpreter. Rodrigues tries, it is true, to act in that capacity, but he understands very little Portuguese. So you can imagine the life I lead here, and what my sermons are like, when neither the people can understand the interpreter, nor the interpreter the preacher, to wit, myself. I ought to be a past-master in the language of dumb-show. Nevertheless, I am not altogether idle, for I need no translator's help in the baptism of newly born children." In another letter he continues: "As they were as unable to understand my speech as I

theirs, I picked out from the crowd several intelligent and educated men and endeavoured to find some amongst them who understood both languages—Spanish and Malabarese (*sic* Tamil). Then we entered into conference for several days, and together translated, though with great difficulty, the Catechism into the Malabarese (? Tamil) tongue." How faulty this translation was is strikingly illustrated by a complaint casually made by Xavier, that in the Creed the Christians had learnt "I want" in place of "I believe," and continued thoughtlessly to repeat it.

Xavier's greatest work in India was done amongst the low-caste Paravas far away from Goa, near Cape Comorin. These people, who had been for long years sorely oppressed by Mahomedan pirates, applied to the Portuguese for help. This they were promised on condition that they embraced Christianity. Amongst them Xavier spent two whole years of his Indian missionary career. "He went from village to village, calling crowds of men and boys together in a fitting place for instruction, by means of a hand-bell. Within a month the boys had almost learned by heart what he had recited to them, and they were then enjoined to teach it to their parents, comrades, and neighbours. On Sundays he assembled men and women, boys and girls, in a consecrated building, into which they streamed with joyful zeal. The service simply consisted in his repeating once more, very clearly, the aforesaid passages; they were then repeated by the congregation, the whole being interspersed with prayers offered at regular intervals." And yet, although he had himself baptised thousands of these people, Xavier was wholly dissatisfied with the result of his labours and doubted whether greater success were possible in India. In a letter to Ignatius Loyola, 1549, he writes: "The natives (of India) are so terribly wicked that they can never be expected to embrace Christianity. It is so repellent to them in every way that they have not even patience to listen when we address them on the subject; in fact, one might just as well invite them to allow themselves to be put to death as to become Christians. We must now therefore limit ourselves to retaining those who are already Christians."

After Xavier the most remarkable Roman missionary who ever came to India was unquestionably Robert de Nobili. Born in Rome, of a distinguished branch of the

Italian nobility, a nephew of the famous Cardinal Bellarmine, and nearly related to the Pope, this brilliant man sacrificed all his prospects in his homeland to adopt the self-denying work of a missionary in India. Finding that a large number of these Parava Christians who had been evangelised by Francis Xavier had migrated to the city of Madura, at that time one of the most famous centres of South Indian learning, Robert de Nobili felt that his mission lay there. His one absorbing thought was, how can Christianity be brought within the reach of the people of India independently of all connection with Portugal? Xavier had relied on the strong arm of Portugal to help him when necessary. Robert de Nobili rejected entirely all considerations of State help, and determined to become "an Indian to the Indians" that he might win India to Christ. "He donned the light yellow robe of a Sannyasi (penitent) Brahman, engaged Brahmans as his servants, and confined his menu to the vegetarian diet of the Brahmans. He shrouded himself in mystery, as many of them love to do, seldom appeared in public, and only allowed visitors of the highest castes, and Brahmans in particular, to have access to him. He adopted exclusively the Indian custom of carrying on conversation by means of learned disputations, and sought to commend Christianity as the highest philosophy to the Hindus, so long trained in all the fineness of hair-splitting dialectics. Those who associated themselves with him as disciples, he tried by means of a thirty or forty days' course to lead to a fuller knowledge of Christianity—again chiefly by disputation; he would then baptise them, though he accounted baptism as by no means implying a breaking with caste. The view now everywhere prevalent in India, that baptism in itself constitutes the breaking of caste, inevitably resulting in exclusion from heathen caste circles, had not yet come into existence. On the contrary, those who were baptised maintained all the forms and ceremonies of their old caste; they continued to wear the sacred thread, which Nobili himself now did, the only difference being that the Christian "sacred thread" consisted of three golden strands, symbolic of the Holy Trinity, and two silver ones, typifying the human and divine nature of Christ. But the uninitiated could not perceive the difference, and cases were not unknown in which Christians wore threads consecrated by heathen Brahmans. The Christians

too, like the heathen, bore the caste mark on their forehead; they simply did not employ cow-dung ashes as the natives did, but used instead ashes of sandalwood over which a prescribed form of consecration had been spoken. de Nobili too had one of these sandalwood signs painted on his forehead. A special Church was erected for his converts, and they were organised into a self-contained community which had no dealings whatever with the older Church of the Parava Christians. "de Nobili allowed caste differences to exist in all their rigour between Church members of a higher and lower caste, even to the extent of countenancing the idea that contact between a Parava Christian and a Brahman Christian rendered the latter unclean. He called himself a Rajah from Rome, a Guru or Teacher of Religion, a Sannyasi or Penitent, and from 1611 onwards, a Brahman. He claimed to be the bringer of a fourth and lost Veda, which he termed the spiritual law; this alone could impart eternal life. Its contents were partly interspersed among those of the three other Vedas; to a very great extent, however, they had been up to the present wholly lost; this lost Veda he now restored to the Hindus. To support this fiction he acquired with astounding industry a knowledge not only of Tamil and Telugu, the two languages principally spoken in Madura, but also of Sanskrit. de Nobili was the first European to thoroughly master this difficult language, and he even came to use it with a certain degree of elegance. At the same time he made a profound study of the sacred and philosophical literature of India, and with great skill and a most enviable tenacity of memory he was able to pick out and ever hold in readiness for immediate use all such passages as served to strengthen his bold position. The study of Sanskrit and the ancient literature of the country were at that time wholly neglected, and the Brahmans themselves were not innocent of gross forgeries. All this gave such an able and shrewd individual as de Nobili his chance—and he seized it."

It was indeed a strange method of preaching the Gospel which, although connected in its leader with brilliant learning and immense self-sacrifice, was fatally marred by deliberate deceit as well as by fundamentally un-Christian principles. To pretend that he was a Brahman, to actually invent a Veda and to allow and even encourage caste, were acts which

were sooner or later bound to bring a painful nemesis. de Nobili was attacked on all sides, both by influential Brahmans as well as the Parava Christians, who resented deeply the degrading position in which they were placed.

The matter was in the year 1623 brought to the notice of the Pope. At this time Jesuit influence was paramount in Rome, and a Bull of Pope Gregory entitled, "Romanæ sedis antistes," gave ecclesiastical sanction to de Nobili's system. It was an extremely astute utterance, which avoided the really big points at issue, such as the permitting of the caste system in the Christian Church, or the posing of de Nobili as a Brahman, and simply dwelling on minor points. Part of it runs as follows: "Out of compassion for human weakness," etc., de Nobili's converts are permitted "to retain the plait of hair, the Brahmanical thread, the sandalwood sign on the forehead, and the customary ablutions of their caste." They must, however, separate these things from all heathen superstition and envelop these old pagan customs with a cloak of Christianity. "The cord and the coil of hair shall not be received in idolatrous temples, nor, as appears to have been the case hitherto, at the hands of 'yogis' or 'bottis' (masters), or from any other unbeliever, but solely from Catholic priests, who shall consecrate these things with holy water and distribute them after reading the prayers appointed by the Bishop of the diocese."

For a time de Nobili's system was victorious. Associated with him were other missionaries of great ability and unquestionable devotion. Their work lay around Madura, Trichinopoly, Tanjore and in Mysore; later on it spread to Pondicherry and to certain stations in the Carnatic. At de Nobili's death 100,000 Christians are said to have belonged to the mission.

Fifty years later the controversy about this policy of the Jesuits broke out again, and this time it was no longer sanctioned. Pope Clement XI. despatched the Patriarch of Antioch to India with full power to pronounce a definite verdict on the practices of the Jesuits. On June 23, 1704, he published a decree in which sixteen malpractices were condemned. The most important of the sixteen was unquestionably that which runs as follows: "In future refusal of the Holy Sacrament to Pariahs who may be sick may no longer be permitted; such persons shall be visited by the

missionaries in their homes, and the sacred unction given without distinction of sex or caste."

Later on Pope Benedict XIV. confirmed the decree of his predecessor in a Bull which runs as follows: "Should the members of the Society of Jesus not obey within the appointed time, they shall be deprived of all authority and missionaries of another order be sent out to India."

Before we attempt to condemn unreservedly de Nobili we must bear in mind the times in which he lived. "He had renounced all aid from the secular power and was alone in India, battling against enormous odds. He had to face the caprice of heathen and Mahomedan Rajahs, as well as the hostilities of the Brahmans and the fanatical sects of South India. At times members of his staff as well as his followers were cast into prison, cruelly scourged and banished from the country. One of them, Juan de Brito, was put to death. It was only, he felt, by laying claim to the calling of a Sannyasi that he and his brethren could obtain any measure of protection, for no Hindu would dare to lay hand on a Sannyasi. He himself, after forty-two years of missionary labour, when almost blind, obeyed the authority of his superiors and retired first to Ceylon and then to a monastery near Madras. To the end of his life—he lived to the age of eighty—he observed the strictest ceremonial of a Sannyasi, limiting his diet to a few bitter herbs cooked in water. Unquestionably he was one of the most remarkable missionaries whom India has ever seen, and although we must condemn unreservedly his methods, yet we cannot deny to him a boundless devotion to what he believed to be the cause of Christ.

At the close of the seventeenth century it is said by Roman Catholic historians that they had no less than two and a half million converts. For their Madura mission they claimed about 150,000; at Goa, Diu, Bassein, Cochin, they claimed that four-fifths of the entire population were nominally Catholic. They had also large numbers of Christians in Ceylon.

Then during the course of the eighteenth century there seems to have come about a rapid collapse of Roman Catholic missionary effort which, according to Richter, reduced their numbers to about 660,000. The reasons which Richter gives for this downfall are decidedly interesting. First of all came the decline of the power of Portugal, which had

always been a great champion of Roman Catholic Christianity. Then came the rise of Holland, England, France, and Denmark in India, and with this a change of opinion in the minds of the Indians. Hitherto they had regarded it as belonging to their worldly interests to become Christians. When they saw, however, that this was no longer the case, many relapsed to heathenism. Tippu Sahib, the fanatical Mahomedan ruler of Mysore, was also responsible for the forcible perversion of large masses of nominal Christians to Islam. The Abbé Dubois states that sixty thousand Christians accepted Mahomedanism without making the slightest demur. Then came the suppression of the Jesuit Order in 1773, and with it the Jesuit missionaries for a time ceased to come to India. Writing in 1815, the Abbé Dubois describes in melancholy fashion the hopeless condition of their Roman Catholic missions in India. According to him there were at that time 300,000 Roman Catholic Christians in the Archbishopric of Goa, about 100,000 in Ceylon, about 70,000 in the Madura mission, and about 60,000 in the Diocese of Cochin. His description of their moral and spiritual state is sad to read. "By far the greater part of them, in fact, I might say the whole, present nothing but an empty show, a hollow mockery of Christianity, for in the long period of twenty-five years during which I learned to known them most intimately and lived amongst them as their spiritual director, I cannot say that I once found anywhere one single downright and straightforward Christian amongst the natives of India!" It is only right to add that this pessimistic utterance of the Abbé was attacked vigorously at that time and by no one more keenly than by Bishop Heber.

Up to the eighteenth century none of the Reformed Churches took any part in the evangelisation of India. Then came a remarkable change which in time has led to great results. It was a King of Denmark, Frederick Christian IV., who was the first person to feel the call to do something for Christ in India. Away to the south of Madras on the sea coast was a small Danish Settlement at Tranquebar, and it occurred to the King, who was proud of his little Eastern possession, that it was his duty to send missionaries to enlighten its people.

In the year 1706, he sent his Royal Mission which consisted of two missionaries: one a Saxon named Benjamin

Ziegenbalg, the other a Dane named Plutscho. Though sent by the King, they were treated with painful discourtesy by the Governor of Tranquebar and those in authority. Insults were offered to them; they were told that their work was futile, and on one occasion Ziegenbalg was imprisoned to gratify the Governor's hatred. On another occasion, when a considerable sum of money in gold had arrived for the support of the missionaries, the boat which was conveying it from the ship to the shore was upset in six feet of water. The Governor Hassius, who seems to have been a most malignant person, took care that the money was never retrieved. In spite of all discouragements, however, these two missionaries persevered.

Ziegenbalg was a remarkable linguist and speedily acquired a working knowledge of Portuguese, which was then spoken widely, as well as a sound knowledge of Tamil. He translated a considerable part of the Bible into Tamil before his death. It is unnecessary for us to give a detailed account of the Tranquebar mission. In the year 1740 it numbered 3700 Christians, and before the end of the century it had increased to 18,000. From the first it was constantly hampered in its operations through lack of funds. Shortly after it started the S.P.G. felt drawn to give it liberal support. Then the S.P.G. handed over this task to the S.P.C.K. Before going to Europe in 1714, Ziegenbalg visited the two English Settlements at Cuddalore and Madras, where he was received with great courtesy. During his time in England he went so far as to address a letter to King George I., urging the duty as well as expediency of diffusing the Gospel in British territories in India. When returning to India, he was given a free passage, together with his wife, on one of the ships of the East India Company.

Mr. Penny, in his *Church in Madras*, has cleared away effectually many misunderstandings regarding the attitude of the East India Company towards missionary effort. He has made it clear to us that from the first the Chaplains of the East India Company, as well as its other officials, welcomed most heartily these Lutheran missionaries, and were prepared to give them any assistance in their power towards carrying out their missionary designs. We shall see later how they actually employed many of these missionaries in caring for their troops and looking after the schools they had started for subordinates in their service. So well were they dis-

posed towards them that it was customary to give them free passages on their ships and to convey their goods from Europe to India free of charge.

In the year 1726 one of the leading missionaries of the Tranquebar mission, a German of the name of Schultz, decided to move northwards from Tranquebar to Madras. He was a man of great ability, but restless and of a masterful disposition, who did not always get on well with his colleagues. Shortly after his arrival in Madras, he was adopted entirely by the S.P.C.K. as one of their own missionaries, and from that time onwards for nearly a century the S.P.C.K. adopted quite a number of these Lutheran missionaries. Their reasons for doing so were obvious. There were at that time no Englishmen who were prepared to leave home and country to face the trials and loneliness of an Indian missionary's life. These men, who were devout and learned and who had made this great sacrifice, were naturally objects of admiration to many in England, as well as to many in India.

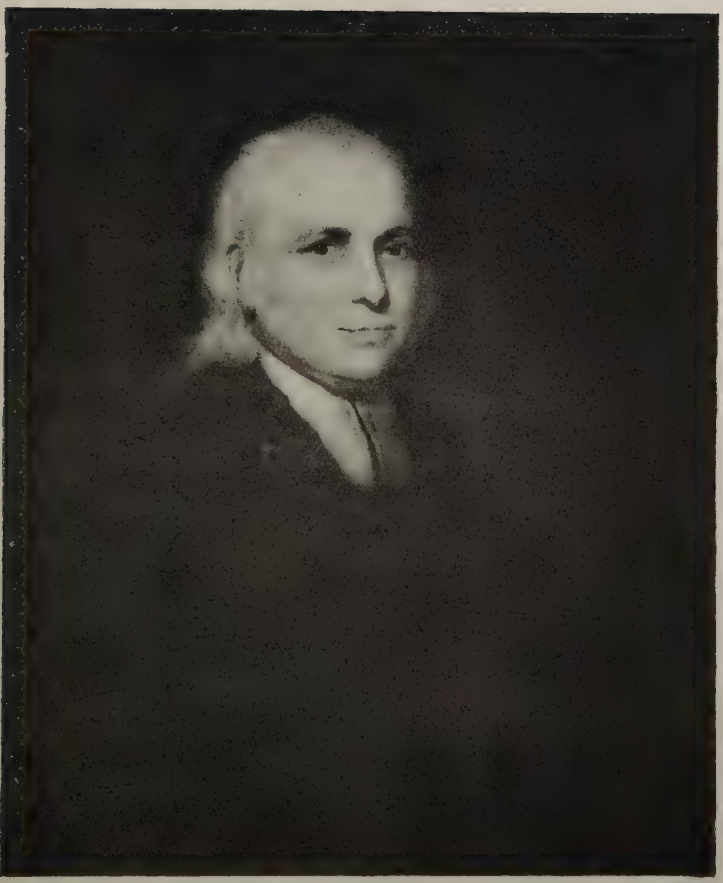
A century later, when English Bishops were sent to India and when at length the English Church woke up to a sense of its duty to send out missionaries of our own Church, the anomaly of an English Church Society employing ordained agents who were unable legally to minister in our consecrated Churches became apparent. There is a pasasge in one of Bishop Heber's letters which gives us his views on the subject.

"Still," said he, "there is a difference between them and us, in matters of discipline and external forms, which often meets the eye of the natives, and produces an unfavourable effect upon them. They are perplexed what character to assign to ministers of the Gospel, whom we support and send forth to them, while we do not admit them into our Churches. And so much of influence and authority, which the Church of England is gradually acquiring with the Christians of different Oriental stocks (the Greeks, Armenians, and Syrians), arises from our recognition of, and adherence to, the Apostolic institution of Episcopacy, that it is greatly to be desired that all who are brought forward under our auspices in these countries should, in this respect, agree with us. A strong perception of these inconveniences had induced three of the Lutheran missionaries employed in Bengal by the Church Missionary Society

to apply to me for re-ordination according to the rites of the Church of England, and I had much satisfaction in admitting them to Deacon's Orders."

At the time we are writing of, however, these difficulties had not been considered, and the necessities of the work made men overlook them. The S.P.C.K. supported them whole-heartedly in their missionary work and, what is even more remarkable, the East India Company employed many of them as their Chaplains. They were led to do so for several reasons. At this time there were a considerable number of Portuguese, Eurasians, and Tamil converts who were in the service of the East India Company. These people had children who were in need of education. The Company felt that it was their duty to start Charity Schools for these children, but the real difficulty lay in finding fit persons to carry them on. The English Chaplains, who were not many in number, were short-service men, who did not know either Portuguese or Tamil, whereas the missionaries knew both. Again, there were a considerable number of mercenary soldiers in the employ of the Company who had been recruited in Germany, Hanover, Denmark, and Switzerland. The English Chaplains were unable to minister to these soldiers as they did not know their language, whereas the missionaries, who were excellent linguists, were able to render this service in an acceptable way. And so it came about that for nearly a century a body of Lutheran Clergy were supported by an English Church Society as well as by the East India Company. It would seem, however, that while they acted as Chaplains in India and received salaries from the Company, they were never formally recognised by the Directors of the Company at home in the same way as they recognised their own English Chaplains. While acting as Chaplains to the Company, looking after the troops and caring for their Charity Schools, they also did their missionary work and in some cases with marked success. By the middle of the eighteenth century there were more than two thousand converts at Vepery in Madras, and everywhere they were actively engaged in missionary work.

Some among them were men of remarkable ability: Sartorius, Gericke, Fabricius, and Kiernander were all outstanding men of their period. On various occasions they ministered to the English in the absence of English



CHRISTIAN FREDERICK SCHWARTZ.

1726-1798.

FROM A PORTRAIT IN THE POSSESSION OF THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE.

P. 104.

Chaplains. Clive was married by Fabricius, owing to the tragic death of the English Chaplain who was to have performed the ceremony. Fabricius was famous for his gifts as a linguist as well as a hymn-writer.

Most distinguished, however, of all these Lutheran missionaries was Christian Schwartz, who for nearly fifty years worked both as an S.P.C.K. missionary and Chaplain in South India. His first sixteen years were spent in Tranquebar. After that he moved north to Tinnevelly and Tanjore, where his work attracted the attention of the East India Company, and for the future he was enrolled as one of their Chaplains and also adopted by the S.P.C.K. His reputation for goodness and wisdom was so remarkable that he was invited by the Rajah of Tanjore to come and settle in his capital. There he remained for many years, and on the death of the Rajah was appointed guardian of the young Rajah during his minority. His ability in dealing with delicate questions of diplomacy was remarkable, and on one occasion he was sent as an ambassador of the East India Company to the Court of Hyder Ali, the ruler of Mysore. He might unquestionably have amassed a large fortune, but he resolutely set himself against any such idea, and beyond the small amount he spent on himself, devoted all he received to the work of his mission. It might have been thought that, drawn into secular affairs as he constantly was, he would have grown cold in his evangelistic work, but no one who reads his life written by Dr. Pearson, can fail to see that he was never weary, "in season and out of season," of proclaiming the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Unlike Xavier, whose methods of teaching Christianity seem to have been decidedly superficial, Schwartz took infinite pains in the instruction of each individual convert. It is, as a matter of fact, to Schwartz and these other Lutheran missionaries that we owe the large number of Indian Christians we have in South India to-day.

Over and over again Schwartz, Gericke, Fabricius, and other of these Lutheran missionaries acted as mediators between the English and other Europeans on the Coromandel Coast, when matters of dispute arose. So highly was the work of some of these missionaries esteemed by the East India Company, that on the death of Gericke a splendid monument was erected by the Company to his memory in the

Fort Church, Madras. Schwartz, too, was in this respect honoured even more than Gericke. On the granite stone which covers his grave at Tanjore is the following inscription. The poem which is under the inscription, was written by the young Indian Rajah whose guardian he had been :—

"Sacred to the memory of
The Reverend Christian Frederick Schwartz
Missionary to the Honourable
Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge
in London ;
Who departed this life on the
13th of February 1798,
Aged Seventy-one years and four months.

Firm wast thou, humble and wise,
Honest, pure, free from disguise,
Father of orphans, the widow's support,
Comfort in sorrow of every sort.
To the benighted dispenser of light,
Doing, and pointing to, that which is right,
Blessing to princes, to people, to me.
May I, my father, be worthy of thee !
Wisheth and prayeth thy Sarabojee."

In the Fort Church at Madras is another monument erected by the East India Company in memory of this remarkable man who for nearly fifty years had laboured in India without once visiting Europe. The sculptured design on this monument and its inscription so beautifully epitomises his life that I venture to quote Pearson's description at some length.

"The principal compartment of the monument is occupied with an alto-relievo, representing Schwartz surrounded by a group of his orphan pupils to whom he afforded an asylum in his house, and by several of his fellow-labourers who attended him in his last moments. One of the children is embracing his dying hand, and one of the missionaries is supporting his head ; but the eyes of the departing saint are directed, and his hand is raised, towards the object in the upper part of the bas-relief, namely, the Cross, which is borne by a descending angel ; implying that the death of Christ, the grand subject of his ministry, was now the chief support of his soul."

The epitaph reads as follows :—

"Sacred to the memory of

The Rev. Christian Frederick Schwartz,

Whose life was one continued effort to imitate the
example of his Blessed Master.
Employed as a Protestant Missionary from the
Government of Denmark,
And in the same character by the Society in England for
The Promoting of Christian Knowledge,
He, during a period of fifty years, 'Went about doing good,'
Manifesting, in respect of himself, the most entire
Abstraction from temporal views,
But embracing every opportunity of promoting both the
Temporal and eternal welfare of others.
In him religion appeared not with a gloomy aspect
or forbidding mien,
But with a graceful form and placid dignity."

CHAPTER VII

THE EVANGELICAL CHAPLAINS, 1787—1815

Period.—Europe: War with France, George III. India: Decline of Moghul Power; Growth of Mahratta ascendancy.

Books of Reference.—*Life of Charles Simeon*, by the Rev. W. Carus; *Livee of G. S. Smith and Henry Martyn*, by C. Padwick; *Memoirs of Claudius Buchanan*, by the Rev. H. Pearson; *Memoirs of Right Reverend Daniel Corrie*, by his Brothers; *Parochial Annals of Bengal*, by the Rev. H. B. Hyde; *One Hundred and Forty-five Years at the Old Church*, by Canon E. T. Sandys.

NO account of our Church's work in India would be complete without reference to that body of clergy of the Evangelical school who came out to India as Chaplains of the East India Company towards the end of the eighteenth century, and who were largely responsible for starting definitely missionary work before our English Church Missionaries arrived in person. Certainly if to any one belongs the honour of turning the minds of the young men of the University of Cambridge towards the needs of India, that person was Charles Simeon. His position at Cambridge as Fellow of King's College and Vicar of Holy Trinity gave him a unique opportunity of influencing the younger and more religious men of his University. He was a man of immense devotion to our Lord, of great courage, and never deterred by any difficulty. It speaks highly for his great spiritual power and the remarkable influence he exercised over men that to Henry Martyn and others he was a veritable apostle. It is evident that from the earlier days of his ministry India had a considerable place in his thoughts and prayers. Writing to him from India towards the close of the century, David Brown, the pioneer of these Evangelical Chaplains, who had been deeply influenced by Simeon, says: "From the enclosed papers you will learn the project of a mission to the East Indies." "We understand such matters lie very near to your heart, and that you have a warm zeal to promote their interest. Upon that ground we invite you to become agent on behalf of the intended mission at home. We humbly hope you will

accept our proposal and immediately commence a correspondence with us, stating from time to time the progress of our application." On the back of this document (which is now at Ridley Hall, Cambridge) Mr. Simeon wrote in 1830, " It merely shows how early God has enabled me to act for India, to provide for which has now for forty-two years been a principal and incessant object of my care and labour."

Curiously enough, this was one of the periods when the East India Company was most averse to direct missionary efforts in the territories they were administering. As a Company of traders they had not been unfavourable to the work of missions, especially in South India ; as rulers they seem to have increasingly feared the effect of preaching Christianity to their Hindu and Moslem subjects.

And so for Englishmen who felt the missionary call in those latter days of the eighteenth century, their one way of fulfilling their heart's desire was to go to India as Chaplains of the Company. It is impossible within the limits of these pages to do more than speak of a few of these Evangelical Chaplains, and so we have selected five of the most outstanding of them. If the others attained not to " the first three " there were many who attained to " the first thirty." The five whom we have selected for special mention are David Brown, Claudius Buchanan, Henry Martyn, Daniel Corrie, and T. T. Thomason. Of three of these five full memoirs have been written, while of the remaining two we learn a fair amount from diaries.

David Brown

First of the five to come to India was the Rev. David Brown, who was destined to labour in Calcutta and neighbourhood for twenty-five years, from 1787 to 1812. The son of a Yorkshire yeoman farmer, he was well educated at Hull Grammar School and Magdalene College, Cambridge. It was while at Cambridge that he came in contact with Simeon, who especially directed his attention to the needs of India. David Brown was a man who combined piety and common sense to a remarkable degree. Simeon, writing of him, says : " His religious faith had not darted suddenly into his mind as the ray of heavenly light which overthrew an opposing soul ; but rather, as the least of all seeds, had grown with his growth and strengthened with his strength."

Mr. Hyde gives us some interesting and amusing extracts from Brown's diary on his voyage to India. In one passage we see "Mr. Brown in the ship's rigging, as high as he can climb, watching the disappearing Lizard, and commending thence his friends, the Church of Christ, and his country to the Lord my Preserver." In another passage we see him "sitting with his wife on the quarter-deck, calmly composing his diary and recording how a fire has broken out in the forecastle, of which the alarm has not reached his wife."

In those days Chaplains were evidently advised to bring wives with them to India, and so some months before sailing Brown was married. On January 17, during the six months' voyage, his wife might have been seen dancing on the deck. On February 1 her son was born, and on February 26 the baby was baptised and the mother in perfect health.

At the time of Brown's arrival in Calcutta, Kiernander, the veteran missionary, was in the seventy-sixth year of his age and the forty-seventh of his mission. Nearly blind and a bankrupt, his condition was such as to call forth the sympathy of those who had known him in more prosperous days. Certainly one of the darkest days of his life must have been the day when the Sheriff of Calcutta placed his seal on the Old Mission Church, and the building was closed for worship. This Church had been built, as we remember, almost entirely with the help of the second Mrs. Kiernander's fortune. It had no trustees, and so was therefore regarded as the private property of Kiernander. Not for long, however, was this stigma attached to this historic Church, for within a few days Mr. Charles Grant, a Bengal civilian, and afterwards the Director of the East India Company, came forward and bought the Church, school-house and burying-ground for Rs.10,000. It was in the Old Mission Church that David Brown preached most of his sermons until his death twenty-five years later.

David Brown was a man of immense energy. In spite of his heavy duties as Garrison Chaplain of Calcutta, he sympathised so deeply with the missionary side of things that he started a boarding school for young Hindus near the Military Orphan Institute, which was part of his special charge.

Just about the time of David Brown's arrival in Calcutta, the Church of St. John was completed and consecrated. For a long time it was called the New Church, to distinguish it from Kiernander's, which was called the Old. In both

these Churches David Brown, as a Company's Chaplain, was expected to officiate, though his chief work was connected with the Old Church. So popular were its services, which were attended by many leaders of Calcutta society, including the Governor-General Lord Wellesley and his illustrious brother Arthur, afterwards Duke of Wellington, that the Church had during his ministry to be enlarged.

For one thing especially David Brown's name should always be held in honour, as it was in his mind that first took shape the ideas which eventuated in the formation of the Church Missionary Society.

Canon Sandys tells us : " About this time Brown, Grant, and Udny met together to consult more definitely about a Church Mission ' for Bengal and Behar,' and Brown drafted a scheme which he sent home to ' Revs. N. and S.' (evidently meaning John Newton and Charles Simeon), and also to William Wilberforce, and to various dignitaries of the Church at home, including the Archbishops."

If, therefore, as a matter of history the Church Missionary Society was inaugurated in London at the Castle and Falcon in 1799, the correspondence which led to its formation had been going on for some years between this little handful of Christians in Calcutta and their friends in London and Cambridge.

In the words of Canon Sandys, " The Old Mission Church, Calcutta, may be regarded as the true birthplace of the Church Missionary Society, and the Rev. D. Brown as the true father of it." " When the Society was finally launched its object was enlarged, and it was sent forth under the name of the Society for Missions in Africa and the East. Thirteen years later it changed its name to the Church Missionary Society."

In the year 1800 a College was started in Fort William, Calcutta, under the advice of the Governor-General Marquis Wellesley for the training of Junior Civil Servants. It was felt that they needed fuller knowledge of India, its customs, laws, languages, and people, before it was wise to place them in stations by themselves ; and that there could be no better place for studying such things than Calcutta. This Fort College had but a short life. For various reasons, partly climatic, partly opposition to Lord Wellesley, the Court of Directors decided to abandon it for a home training at Haileybury.

It speaks highly for David Brown that for the first seven years of its existence he was appointed Provost, William Carey, the celebrated Baptist Missionary, being appointed a Professor of Languages. Writing of Brown's Provostship, Simeon says " that he superintended with renewed alacrity the heavy duties necessarily attendant on the first formation and arrangement of a collegiate establishment. He looked forward, he says, to the recompense of reward which he desired to obtain . . . in winning souls to the paths of serious piety from among the youth brought by this institution under his especial observation : and it is undeniably true that a striking improvement took place in the moral deportment of the students of the College. Among other means of attaining this advantage, they were induced by its rules to become regular in attendance on the ordinances of religion, which in some of them laid the groundwork of a serious and consistent profession of the Christian faith. The Lord's Table was no longer utterly shunned ; and the whole system of morals was gradually improved. The unprincipled tide of debt was likewise stemmed ; and, as was to be expected, the culture of talent became the prevailing taste."

" The Provost conciliated the affectionate respect of the students who were placed under him ; and felt, as was usual with him, more attached to the charge assigned him, the longer he was connected with it. His ardour was great, and his labour incessant for the welfare of the institution, that it might become a real and permanent blessing to the rising generation, and to the country in which it was planted."

In 1803 Brown purchased Aldean House at the Danish Settlement of Serampore, ten or twelve miles from Calcutta, where he lived a great deal of the latter years of his life. Here he kept open house, especially for his missionary friends, in spite of the fact that he had a family of nine children to support.

David Brown was a man, as we have already stated, of sound judgment as well as of deep piety, and it is evident that he won the universal respect and confidence of every one in Calcutta. Though his emoluments had been large, his hospitality and charity had been so great that he died a poor man, and a large sum was immediately raised for the benefit of his family. He died in 1812, with his last breath uttering thanksgiving for all the consolations God had

showered on him. There is a tablet in the Old Church, Calcutta, on which is the following inscription :—

"To the poor the Gospel was preached
in this Church
by
The Rev. David Brown,
Twenty-five years.
Obt. ap. Calcutta, 14 June 1812, Æt. 49."

Claudius Buchanan

Of Claudius Buchanan we may say at the outset that there were but few signs in his youth of what he was to be in later years. His parents were not well off, and as he was a clever, hard-working lad, following the custom of a good many other young fellows in Scotland of his period, he obtained the post of tutor to the sons of a wealthy man. A youthful and impossible love affair made him decide, in the bitterness of his heart, to forget his troubles by wandering through Europe, like Oliver Goldsmith, keeping soul and body together by playing on his violin. Knowing that such a life would never receive the approval of his parents, he let them think he had obtained the post of tutor to a young fellow who was travelling on the Continent. Leaving home he started on his travels on foot. Before reaching the border, however, he utterly sickened of his tramp life, and as his pride prevented him from returning home, he took ship at South Shields, and after a rough voyage arrived in London.

His early days in London were days of hardship and poverty. At times he literally did not know where to get his next meal. Pride still stood in his way, and even a year later, when the sad news of his father's death reached him, he wrote a letter of condolence to his mother, pretending that he was writing from Florence.

Down in the heart of Buchanan, however, the Spirit of God was silently working. As a boy he had not been without religious feeling, and now at length a Divine discontent began to break forth in his soul. His first step on the road of repentance was to let his mother know that he had all along been deceiving her about his movements, and that he had never left London. She seems to have treated

his deceit somewhat lightly, and her one apparent anxiety was that he should cultivate the acquaintance of John Newton, then one of the great Evangelical preachers in England.

The Rev. John Newton had himself once been a sailor and for a time a blaspheming slave-driver on the African coast. Converted to God in a remarkable way, he was then one of the most powerful preachers of repentance in England. His hymns are familiar to most of us. Under his guidance Buchanan came forward rapidly in spiritual matters. Along with the deepening of his spiritual life came strong drawings towards the ministry of the Church. For a time it seemed that lack of means must for ever bar the road to the University and Ordination, when an unexpected friend turned up in Mr. Thornton, a rich banker. Mr. Thornton was strongly drawn towards Buchanan, and decided to support him through his course at Cambridge.

When Buchanan first went up to Cambridge he was much older than the ordinary undergraduate. With a fair knowledge of classics he was extremely weak in mathematics, which was then the most important subject in the Cambridge course. In spite of this deficiency, which would have been fatal in most cases, Buchanan worked so hard and so steadily that before leaving Cambridge he was elected to a Fellowship.

Shortly after leaving the University he received his appointment to an Indian Chaplaincy, and arrived in Calcutta on March 10, 1797. After a short stay with Mr. David Brown and his family at Aldean, he was posted to the military station of Barrackpore, not far from Calcutta. Barrackpore at that time was without a Church, and Divine Service was never so much as required by the military staff to which Buchanan was attached. As he could hold no public services without an order from the Commanding Officer, and as this order was withheld, Buchanan found himself in a very unhappy position of enforced idleness. One can well understand how galling to a man of his intense religious convictions this compulsory inactivity must have been, and one need not wonder that doubts assailed him as to whether he ought to have come to India at all.

This unhappy state fortunately did not last for long, as a few months later he was posted to Calcutta to assist the Rev. David Brown in his important work. When Dr. Brown's health deteriorated Buchanan was called on to

take an ever-increasing part in the work of the Old Church. His ability was also recognised, as he was appointed Vice-Provost of the East India Company's College at Fort William.

To Claudius Buchanan the Church in India owes far more than is generally realised. To him belongs the honour of first suggesting the need of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for India. His method of presenting the idea was regarded at the time as so able and convincing that when the question of the appointment of the first Bishop of Calcutta came up for consideration, his name was mentioned, and he would most probably have been appointed had it not been that his health prevented his returning to India.

Again it was by Claudius Buchanan that the needs of the Syrian Church at Travancore were first fully realised. His researches into the work of the Christian Church in Asia, as well as an open letter which he wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, produced a considerable effect at the time, and drew the attention of thousands in England to this most interesting part of the mission field. Claudius Buchanan's stay in India was but for twelve years. After he retired he continued to exercise a considerable influence on the Church at home by his writings on the mission field, some of which passed through several editions.

Henry Martyn

Certainly there is no more remarkable, and at the same time pathetic, figure in the records of missionary effort (though he himself was a Chaplain and not a missionary) than that of Henry Martyn. Able as a classic and brilliant as a mathematician (he was Senior Wrangler and Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge), Martyn was destined in a short life to do more for the cause of missions than probably any other missionary in modern times save St. Francis Xavier. An interesting life of him has been written by Mr. George H. Smith.

Martyn was one of Simeon's disciples, and it was largely through Simeon's influence that he came to India. When he left England for India he had to pass through a great sorrow. Deeply attached to one who seems to have returned his love, he was compelled to leave her behind. They never saw one another again on earth.

The ship which carried Henry Martyn to India first called at Rio Janeiro in Brazil. Of his visit to this place it is recorded that he was "the first to proclaim the pure Gospel in South America since 300 years before, when Colligny's and Calvin's missionaries were silenced by Villegagnon and put to death." After leaving Brazil the vessel, which was carrying troops, went to Cape Town. Here the troops were landed and took part in a campaign against the Dutch, from whom we captured the Cape Colony. To the soldiers before going into action Martyn spoke with great earnestness: "It is now time to be decided in religion." He himself was deeply affected by the grief of the ladies whose husbands were taking part in the campaign.

Martyn, like other preachers of his school, was inclined to lay more stress on the severity of God and the danger of hell-fire than on the Divine love. If he was inclined to judge his fellow-men severely, he judged himself even more so.

He arrived in India on May 16, 1806. While coming up the Hooghly his vessel struck on the dangerous James and Mary sand-bank. Had the same fate befallen this ship which has befallen many other gallant ships which have struck on this sand-bank, the Church certainly would have lost one of its most famous sons. When Martyn arrived in Calcutta, David Brown and Buchanan were away from home. He soon found a most congenial spirit in William Carey, the great Baptist Missionary, then one of the Professors at the Fort College.

The followings extracts from Martyn's diary are worth quoting:—

"With Carey I breakfasted, and joined him in worship, which was in Bengalee for the advantage of a few servants, who sat, however, perfectly unmoved. I had engaged a boat for Serampore, when a letter from Mr. Brown found me out, and directed me to his house in the town, where I spent the rest of the day in solitude, and more comfortably and profitably than any time past. I enjoyed several solemn seasons in prayer and more lively impressions from God's Word. Employed at times in writing to Mr. Simeon. Mr. Brown's *munshee*, a Brahman, of the name of B. Roy, came in and disputed with me two hours about the Gospel."

"May 17. What I hear about my future destination has proved a trial to me to-day. Brown and Buchanan wish to keep me here as Chaplain at the Old Church. I

have a great many reasons for not liking this; I almost think that to be prevented going among the heathen as a missionary would break my heart. I have hitherto lived to little purpose, like a clod upon the earth. *Now let me burn out for God!*"

"May 18. So unwell with the cold and sore throat that Mr. B. did not think it right for me to preach. Went with him at 10 in the morning to the New Church. Mr. Jeffries read one part, Mr. Limrick another, of the Service; Mr. Brown preached. At 8 in the evening went to the Old Missionary Church, where I ventured to read the Service. Mr. Brown preached on 'Behold the Lamb of God.' I was very agreeably surprised at the number, attention, and apparent liveliness of the audience; and I may safely say that most of the young ministers that I know would rejoice to come from England, if they knew how attractive every circumstance is respecting the Church. Stayed in the vestry some time conversing with Mr. Bourne."

"May 19. We got a boat, and the stream in an hour and a half helped us up to Serampore to Mr. Brown's house. In the cool of the evening we walked to the Mission House, a few hundred yards off, and I at last saw the place about which I have so long read with pleasure. I was introduced to all the missionaries. We sat down 150 to tea at several long tables in an immense room. After this there was Evening Service in another room adjoining. Mr. Marshman then delivered his lecture on Grammar. My habitation assigned to me by Mr. B. is a pagoda in his grounds on the edge of the river. Thither I retired at night, and really felt something like supernatural dread at being in a place once inhabited as it were by devils, but yet felt to be triumphantly joyful that the temple, where they were worshipped, was become Christ's Oratory. I prayed out aloud to my God, and the echoes returned from the vaulted roof."

Martyn remained in Calcutta for the first six months of his time in India. The Calvinistic tone of some of his sermons aroused a deep resentment in the minds of some of his brother Chaplains. On June 8 he preached in the morning at the New Church (St. John's) for the first time, on 1 Cor. i. 23–24. The sermon excited no small ferment, so much so that the Chaplains took to opposing the doctrines preached by Martyn, even from the pulpit.

Martyn's fears that he would be kept in Calcutta as a preacher in the Old Church with its big congregation proved groundless. He afterwards wrote to Brown from Cawnpore, referring to this when he said, " The evangelisation of India is a more important object than preaching to European congregations in Calcutta."

Towards the end of October, Martyn left for Dinapore. In addition to his Evangelical zeal and preaching to non-Christians, he spent a great deal of his time in translating the New Testament into Urdu. Probably next to his devoted life, this piece of work was his greatest contribution to the cause of Christianity in India.

From Dinapore he was transferred to Cawnpore. Here he lived for a time with Captain and Mrs. Sherwood. At Cawnpore there was no Church. Parade services were held in the open air, with disastrous results for his health, as he soon became a victim to malaria. He asked permission to use the billiard-room for his services, but was refused. He was, however, given the Riding School to hold them in (the effluvium of which would only please " knights of turf"). In the face of these difficulties he asked the question, " What must Mahomedans think of us ? " The tone of society seems to have been decidedly low, as Martyn remarks that on one occasion, when he was invited to dine with the Brigade-Major, " he could gain no attention while saying Grace, and the moment the ladies withdrew the conversation took such a turn that he was obliged to retreat." In spite of all opposition, however, he managed to start schools and translated a little book on the Parables into the dialect of Behar. He was much helped in his work of translation by an Arab of the name Sabat. Sabat seems to have been a most unreliable and unpleasant character, and at times gave Martyn very great pain and grief.

Martyn left Cawnpore on October 1, for Calcutta. He had decided to return to England *viâ* Persia. He wished to preach the Gospel in that country, and also to get a fuller knowledge of Arabic and work amongst the Mahomedans. He remained in Calcutta for nearly two months, where he stayed with " dear Thomason," and preached regularly at the Old Mission Church. On January 1, 1811, he preached the anniversary sermon for the Bible Society and suggested the formation of a Calcutta Auxiliary.

He says, " I preached an unwieldy sermon, which has just

been delivered. We have received 2600 rupees in donations, We proceed without delay to form an Auxiliary Bible Society by the few who were at Church."

On January 6 Henry Martyn preached his last sermon in India: "The one thing needful." On January 7 he sailed away for Persia. Martyn died on his way home at Tokat. Tokat, the ancient Komana Pontica, was the place where St. Chrysostom died on the 14th September 407.

Martyn's great desire when he reached India was like that of Francis Xavier: "Now let me burn out for God!" There is a tablet to his memory in the Old Church, Calcutta, which reads as follows :—

"To the memory of
The Rev. Henry Martyn,
Chaplain of the Bengal Establishment.
'He was a burning and a shining light.'
He died at Tokat in Armenia,
16th October 1812, aged only 32."

Certainly no one who is interested in foreign mission work should fail to read the Life of Henry Martyn.

Daniel Corrie

Daniel Corrie, another of the great Evangelicals, arrived in Calcutta a few months later than Henry Martyn. Unlike Martyn, he was destined to give over thirty years of his life to India and to finish his career as first Bishop of Madras. From his Memoirs we learn that when he first went up to Cambridge he was careless and indifferent to things spiritual, and though afterwards a devoted disciple of Simeon, was by no means attracted to him at first, even professing himself "disgusted" at his preaching. Not long afterwards, however, the Spirit of God began to work deeply in his soul, and after a severe spiritual struggle accompanied with much depression and even despair, he attained peace of soul.

Corrie was directed by Simeon to an Indian Chaplaincy. After spending a few months with David Brown in Calcutta, he was stationed at Chunar, then a frontier fort in the modern province of Behar and Orissa. Here, like Martyn, he found the military part of his flock both careless and godless. After two years' work at Chunar he was transferred to Cawnpore, where he relieved Henry Martyn, who was about to

leave India for Persia. From Cawnpore Corrie was transferred for a time to Calcutta, where he assisted a good deal in preaching at the Mission Church. Before leaving for Agra, his next station, he was married at Calcutta to Miss Myers, daughter of a leading Evangelical layman. In Agra, where he spent three years, he laid the foundation of its Church Missionary work. He was a man of immense missionary zeal, who was never weary of delivering the Gospel message.

In 1815 Corrie visited England, and on his return was posted to Benares. There he did a big work in laying foundations for further missionary effort. During his time in Benares a famous Hindu philanthropist, the Rajah Jay Narayan, decided to endow a Free School, which still bears his name. Corrie had a good deal to do with drawing up the rules and regulations of the school and preparing its trust deed. It was placed under the care of the Church Missionary Society, and has been under it ever since.

After several years in Benares, Corrie was transferred to Calcutta, where he spent the greater part of what remained of his Indian career. Two years before his death he was consecrated first Bishop of Madras.

Corrie was an intimate friend of Bishop Heber, who made him his Archdeacon. He was also on intimate terms with Heber's successors, Bishops James and Turner. It is impossible to read his memoirs without realising how entirely whole-hearted he was, and how his zeal for God was the mastering passion of his life. His name will always be held in honour in the Church as one who gave a long and devoted service to the Church in India.

T. T. Thomason

Of the Rev. T. T. Thomason, last of our five great Evangelical Chaplains, we have less information than of any of the others. He came to India at a much later age than they did. Unfortunately, no Life was ever written of him. After a brilliant University career at Cambridge (he was fifth Wrangler and Fellow and Tutor of Queen's College), he worked for twelve years as Curate to Simeon. Of all Simeon's disciples Thomason was the one who enjoyed his most intimate friendship. Simeon loved Thomason as his son. He writes of him as follows: "He had such a loveable spirit, he was so gentle, so humble, so little selfish, so little

envious; it would have been difficult not to love him." When he eventually decided to accept the Chaplaincy of the Old Church, Calcutta, his departure was a real blow to Simeon. The boat on which Mr. and Mrs. Thomason sailed for India was lost off Cape Negrais, and they with the others on board had a marvellous escape. On November 19, 1803, they arrived in Calcutta, having lost all they possessed except the clothes they had on.

Thomason exercised an immense influence while in Calcutta amongst all classes. He was the friend of rich and poor alike. So highly did the Governor-General, the Earl of Moira, think of him that he even invited him to accompany him when he went on one of his tours. It was during this tour that Thomason was placed in a most difficult position. A strong Sabbatarian, he felt called upon to protest against what he considered the desecration of the Lord's Day in the Governor-General's Camp. Some very unpleasant hours followed, and he was almost requested to leave the camp. His protest, however, in the long run had considerable effect.

Thomason was in Calcutta when the Rev. W. Greenwood and the Rev. Schroetar, the first missionaries of our Church to North India, arrived in the year 1816, and needless to say he gave them a warm welcome.

In 1826 Thomason left India for England on account of his wife's health. He had the great sorrow of losing her at sea.

In 1828 he returned to India, having married a second time, hoping to take up charge of the Old Church once more. Shortly after his return he fell ill and was ordered by the doctors to go on a sea voyage to Mauritius, where he died June 21, 1829. There is a tablet in the Old Church, Calcutta, in memory of Thomason. He was a man of splendid devotion as well as sound ability. His son James, who became Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces in 1843 to 1853, took a lively interest in founding the Church Missionary Society stations in that province.

These five were certainly the most distinguished of the Evangelical Chaplains of those days. Others there were also who, while not quite attaining to their position, were in many ways men of great gifts and devotion. Thomas Dealtry, who succeeded Corrie as Archdeacon of Calcutta and was third Bishop of Madras, Boyes, Henry Thomas, Hutton,

Loveley and M. D. C. Walters, were all men of great spiritual influence and were connected closely with the wonderful Old Mission Church in Calcutta. Later on came Stuart, afterwards Bishop of Waiapu in New Zealand; the Rev. J. Welland, brother of the Bishop of Down; Williamson, who started the Gond Mission in the Central Provinces; Parker the Bishop of Uganda, and others who carried on the high tradition bequeathed them by the first five.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FIRST BISHOP OF CALCUTTA, 1815—1822

Period.—England: King William IV. India: Struggle with the Mahrattas and the extension of British rule.

REFERENCES.—*Life of the Right Reverend Thomas Fanshaw Middleton*, by the Rev. Charles Webb Le Bas; *History of Christianity in India*, by the Rev. J. Hough, vol. v.

IN describing somewhat fully the lives of the first four Bishops of Calcutta, it must be remembered that nearly all the more important events of Church History during that period are connected closely with them. Hence it is true to say that when reading their lives we are getting a fairly correct idea of the Church life of that period.

On November 28, 1815, Dr. Thomas Fanshaw Middleton, the first Bishop of Calcutta, arrived in India. His appointment had not been made without considerable difficulty. When the charter of the East India Company was being renewed in the year 1813, strong endeavours were made by a section of the Church in England to have a Bishopric established in Calcutta. Strange to say, these endeavours met with the sternest opposition in the House of Commons. There were many who said that it would seriously offend the religious prejudices of the people of India. One retired official even went so far as to state that it might lead to a rising. The Bill establishing the Bishopric of Calcutta was eventually passed through the House of Commons, largely through the eloquence of Wilberforce, who spoke three and a half hours on the subject. When finally passed, it made provision for a Bishop of Calcutta as well as for Archdeacons for Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras.

The salary of the Bishop of Calcutta was fixed at £5000; that of the three Archdeacons, £2000 each. If to some people a salary of £5000 seems excessive, it must be borne in mind that at this time the salary of the Chief Justice of Calcutta was £10,000, and that of the other Judges £7000. The Bishop too had to pay for the rent of his house, which at

that time in Calcutta meant something between £600 and £700 a year. The rents of Calcutta houses have always been consistently high.

The first Bishop had been educated at Christ's Hospital and afterwards at Pembroke College, Cambridge. At the University he distinguished himself more as a mathematician than a classic, which is all the more remarkable as his name as a scholar is connected with his Treatise on the use of the Greek Article in the New Testament. He had been led to undertake a special study of this subject in connection with a theological controversy which bore on the question of our Blessed Lord's Divinity.

Before coming to India he had been Archdeacon of Huntingdon and Vicar of St. Pancras. While at St. Pancras he had made great efforts to build a large Parish Church, but the Bill in Parliament to raise money for the scheme did not pass, and it was left to his successor to carry through the scheme successfully. While in England Bishop Middleton had always been a devoted supporter of the S.P.C.K.—a devotion which continued during the whole of his time in India.

On his voyage to India the Bishop seriously reflected about his future and laid down certain rules of life which are well worth remembering :—

"Invoke Divine aid, preach frequently as one having authority; promote schools, charities, literature, and good taste; persevere against discouragement; keep your temper; keep up a close connection with the friends at home; maintain dignity without appearance of pride; be not forward to assign reasons to those who have no right to demand them; observe grave economy in domestic affairs; remember what is expected in England; remember the final account."

On Christmas Day the Bishop preached his first sermon in St. John's, the New Church, which was for the next thirty years to be the Cathedral Church of Calcutta. Thirteen hundred people were present. He spoke of himself as coming to India, as Titus went to Crete, "to set in order the things that are wanting." He stated that in primitive days Episcopacy was at once the bond of unity and the safeguard of truth. The collection was £750 and was for the poor. One hundred and sixty persons communicated.

When starting on his work, almost the first thing which he noticed was the shortage of Clergy. The total number of

Chaplains for troops and civilians in India was then only thirty-two, of whom fifteen were in Bengal, twelve in Madras, and five in Bombay. Of the Bombay Chaplains all save one were sick during the Bishop's visit to that place. As a result large numbers of civilians in India never saw a clergyman during the whole of their service. Marriages, Burials, and Baptisms had to be administered by lay people; Churches there were hardly any.

The Bishop was clearly disappointed at his public reception when he first arrived in Calcutta, though his private reception from friends of the Church was all that could be desired. The same spirit which had prevented the sermon preached at his Consecration being published had clearly passed on to India, though it is possible that the absence of the Governor-General from Calcutta, owing to the war with Nepal, was partly responsible for this chilling entry to his new life.

Sitting down to contemplate the situation before him, he soon discovered some great imperfections in his Letters Patent. Formed on the home ecclesiastical system, these Letters Patent authorised him to exercise full ecclesiastical power over all Chaplains and Ministers of the Church of England within his diocese, to whom he was directed to grant licences to officiate. As, however, all Chaplains sent out by the Company came out with the licences of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, they had received their authority before arriving in India from a higher source than the Bishop of Calcutta. On arrival they also received their appointments to their stations from their Local Governments. The fact, therefore, that he had neither power to license them nor to appoint them to their various stations, certainly made his position extremely difficult. He appealed to the Supreme Government on these questions, and it agreed with him that all authority over his Clergy, whether of licensing or appointing to stations, should be in his hands. Certain Local Governments, however, objected to this on the grounds that it interfered with some of their privileges. The matter was referred home, and the Court of Directors ordered the Supreme Government in India to rescind their resolution. This was a great blow to Bishop Middleton, which he felt very keenly.

One of his first acts on arrival was to appoint Archdeacons to Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, and to regulate their

duties. A keen educationalist, he soon improved greatly the famous Free Schools in Calcutta, and by his efforts made the work of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge a living power in India.

Within a few months of his arrival he started on a long visitation tour of his diocese in South and Western India which lasted twelve months. Everywhere he went, his Confirmations were attended by large numbers of candidates. In Madras he consecrated St. George's Church, which is now the Cathedral of Madras. He regarded it as much finer than most of the Parish Churches in England. From Madras he moved onwards to Tanjore, Tinnevelly, and then across into Travancore. He was greatly struck by the spiritual destitution of the English residents in certain places. After leaving Travancore, he journeyed by sea to Bombay, where he spent four months. In July 1816 he consecrated St. Thomas's Church, Bombay, just one hundred and two years after it had been completed. On his return journey to Calcutta, he visited Goa and spent some time in Ceylon. He seems to have enjoyed his visit to Ceylon more than anything else in his life in the East.

In 1818 he launched his scheme for the building of Bishop's College in Calcutta for the education of Indian Clergy from all parts of India. It was this scheme with which Bishop Middleton's name will always be associated. Large sums of money were given towards the starting of the institution. In response to the Bishop's appeal, King William IV. was approached and graciously issued a Royal letter authorising collections throughout England. The appeal was most successful, as over £50,000 was realised. The Church Missionary Society gave £5000, the Bible Society another £5000, and the S.P.G. yet another. The site selected was at Sibpur, near the East India Company's Botanical Garden. The architect was a Mr. Jones. The plans adopted were like those of an English University College. The objects of the College were defined by the Bishop in the following terms :—

(1) To instruct native and other Christians in the doctrine and discipline of the Church, in order to their becoming preachers, catechists, and schoolmasters.

(2) For teaching the elements of useful knowledge and the English language to Musalmans and Hindus, having no object in such attainment beyond secular knowledge.

(3) For translating the Scriptures, the Liturgy, and moral and religious tracts

(4) For the reception of English Missionaries to be sent out by the S.P.G. on their first arrival in India.

The foundations of the College were laid on December 15, 1820. While the building was rising the Bishop was constantly visiting it, and it was a visit to it paid during the hot part of the day which was mainly responsible for his death.

Twice during his Episcopate he visited Bombay, and on both occasions spent some considerable time in Travancore. He took a deep interest in the work of the Syrian Church, and was altogether opposed to anything like proselytising, or using influence to alter its ancient customs and Liturgy. Hough, in his *History of Christianity in India*, contrasts the action of Bishop Middleton in this respect with the action of the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Goa, de Menezes, who did everything in his power to stamp out this ancient national Church by destroying its books and endeavouring to make all its Clergy conform to Rome.

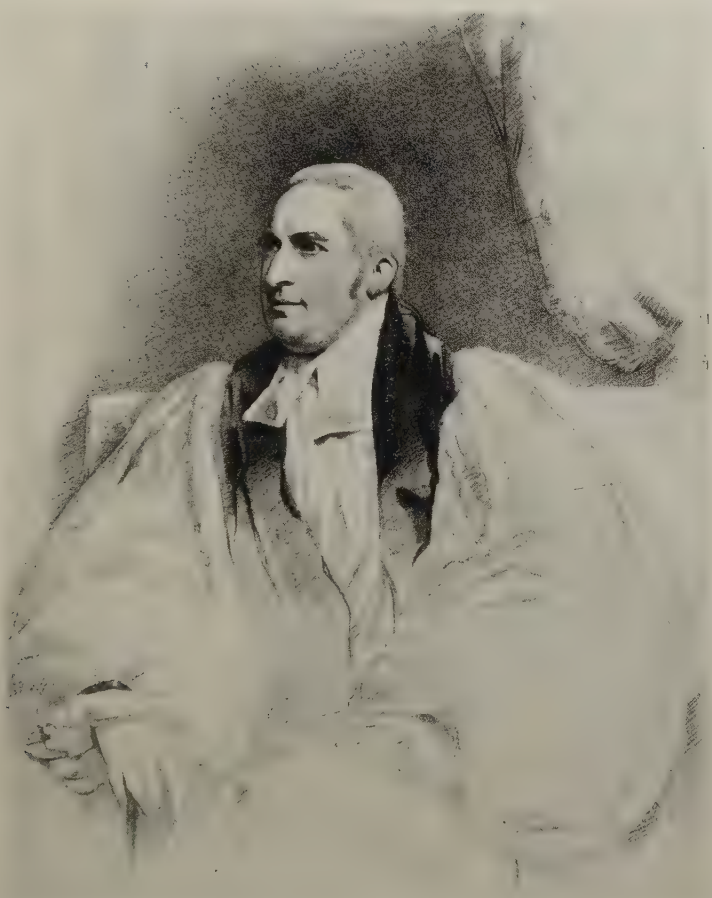
Bishop Middleton's powers were in some respects strangely limited. He was unable to ordain a native of India, or even an East Indian.

His attitude towards the licensing of our Church Missionaries as distinct from Chaplains seems to most of us to-day decidedly strange. He held that authority had been granted to him only over those Clergy who had been sent out by the Court of Directors, and that he had not been given the authority to grant licences to other Clergy. Much though he desired to do so towards the end of his Episcopate, he felt that the Court of Directors were under a distinct obligation to send out a sufficient number of Clergy to care for the English people in India, and that if the Missionary Clergy, who came out primarily for the conversion of the natives of India, were to be licensed by him for English work, which was the only work he was entitled to license them for, then the Court of Directors would think that it was unnecessary for them to send out the number of Clergy they needed. He felt his difficulty very keenly on this matter, and it is clear from his writings that he was not altogether satisfied with the line he took. He says of the Missionary Clergy, " If I should forbid them to preach in English while so many European congregations are without any Pastor, it will excite horror and hatred

both of my person and my office. In fact, it could not be done with a clear conscience. The Missionaries preach where there are no Chaplains, and without their ministrations considerable bodies of Christians would be without the ordinances of religion : they are, in fact, doing what our Propagation of the Gospel Society's Missionaries were sent to do in America ; and what would be the effect if the Bishop were to interfere to deprive any Christian congregation of the means of attending the services of the Church ? Explanation would be impossible : it would be generally believed that I was adverse to the progress of Christianity, whatever might be my professions."

We must remember, before criticising some of the actions of Bishop Middleton, that he was called to the onerous task of clearing the ground and laying foundations of the Church of England in India. He felt very keenly the difficulty of his position. " The difficulties and mortifications which I have to encounter," so he wrote, " are sometimes almost too much for me." Bishop Middleton was very anxious to increase the number of Churches in India, and unquestionably his Episcopate was fruitful in this respect. The building of Churches was started at various places. He held very strongly that all Christian Churches should have either towers or steeples, so as to make them stand out conspicuously as witnesses of the Christian Faith.

Bishop Middleton's Episcopate lasted for just nine years, and his early death in July 1822 was caused far more by worry and anxiety than by the Indian climate. He was a man of a nervously excitable temper, intensely solicitous for the success of his exertions, and liable to depression from unreasonable and vexatious opposition. His thirst for knowledge was insatiable, and to the end he kept up his study of Greek literature. He was a dignified and kindly man, though inclined to be unbending. At times he took up an attitude of excessive dignity which was misunderstood, and one cannot help feeling that to a certain extent he created some of his own difficulties. Dr. Barnes, the Archdeacon of Bombay, writing of him, says : " It would be scarcely reasonable to expect another so great and so good a man as Dr. Middleton, at once a scholar and divine who from conscientious motives was firmly attached to the Church. He lived in very difficult times and supported the Church's interest with firmness and judgment. His only fault was something of a high carriage



THOMAS FANSHAW MIDDLETON.
FIRST BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.
1814-1823.

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in his public demeanour which gave an unfavourable impression to many. Unfortunately he had no sound legal adviser, when legal advice would have been of the greatest benefit to him. He was a powerful preacher. He sacrificed literary eminence and effort to come to India." Fearing any temptation to earthly fame, he had all his manuscripts destroyed at his death. In a little poem written shortly before his death he says :

" May life's brief remnant all be Thine,
And when Thy sure decree
Bids me this fleeting breath resign,
Oh speed my soul to Thee!"

CHAPTER IX

BISHOP HEBER, 1823—1826

BOOKS OF REFERENCE.—*Life of Right Reverend Reginald Heber*, by Dr. George Smith; *Heber's Indian Journal; Christianity in India*, by J. W. Kaye.

MORE than a year had elapsed before Bishop Middleton's successor, Reginald Heber, arrived in India in October 1823. If it was perhaps best for the Church that Heber was not her first Bishop, it was certainly fortunate that he was her second. Poet and saint, full of imagination, courtesy, and sympathy, Heber could hardly have faced the endless and vexatious opposition which fell to the lot of the first Bishop of Calcutta. Once foundations had been laid, essential problems fairly grasped, and initial mistakes rectified, no one could have been more suited for the task than was he. There was a charm about his gracious and beautiful presence which made one who knew him well write after his death: "In weariness and weakness he had ever about him the brightness of the angels—of those little ones whose faces always behold the Father in Heaven." Fortunately for us, we have not only a well-written Life of Heber, but we have his own Indian Diary, which well repays the reading.

Born in 1783 at Malpas, in Yorkshire, in due course he passed through school to Christ Church, Oxford, where amongst other distinctions he won the Newdigate Prize for Poetry. When listening to a preliminary reading of his prize poem entitled "Palestine," Sir Walter Scott is reported to have made a suggestion about Heber's description of the building of the temple in Jerusalem. He noticed that no reference had been made to the fact that the temple had risen without the noise of axe or hammer. Heber immediately withdrew and a few minutes later returned, having in the mean time added the following lines to his poem:—

> "No hammer fell, no ponderous axes rang:
> Like some tall palm the mystic fabric sprang,
> Majestic silence."

Heber was not a great scholar. He won his literary distinctions mainly as a poet, and in a minor degree as a theologian. He edited the works of Jeremy Taylor and was a Bampton Lecturer in 1815. The subject of his lectures were the Person and Office of the Christian Comforter. A man of quite definitely High Church views, he possessed the widest sympathy with all sincere believers, and was ever ready to see good in all.

After leaving Oxford, he spent the greater part of 1806 and 1807 in travelling on the Continent. Shortly after his return to England, he married Miss Shipley, daughter of the Dean of St. Asaph. He was ordained in 1809, in his twenty-sixth year, and presented to the living of Hodnet, in Shropshire. The next few years were spent quietly in his living, where, in addition to his parochial work, he wrote various hymns and theological treatises. It was during this period he wrote his best known hymns, such as :—

"Holy, holy, holy";

"From Greenland's icy mountains";

"The Son of God goes forth to war"; and

"Brightest and best of the sons of the morning."

When Heber was first offered the Bishopric of Calcutta he refused it. He had strong reasons for so doing. The future health of his wife and child, and the fact that his own home prospects were exceptionally bright, made the offer by no means entirely attractive to him. He had, however, strong missionary longings, as is evident in his hymns, and after long and anxious deliberation and much prayer, he consented to sacrifice home comforts and brilliant prospects in England for a toilsome life in a distant land and an unhealthy climate.

He was consecrated at Lambeth Palace on June 1, 1823, sailed for India on June 16, and arrived in Calcutta on October 11.

During the vacancy in the See, Mr. Corrie, assisted by a brother Chaplain, Mr. Parsons, had, under orders of the Governor-General, administered the Diocese. Corrie was for many years to be its Archdeacon. About this time, under an Act of Parliament, Australia was connected with the Diocese of Calcutta, and an Archdeacon appointed who was under the Bishop of Calcutta.

The first five months in Calcutta were months of incessant toil. There were schools, especially the famous Free School

for Anglo-Indians, as well as Missions to be inspected. The Bishop did all in his power to speed up the building and work of Bishop's College. He generally preached three times a week and spent much time in getting to know the European and Indian gentlemen of Calcutta.

On Ascension Day, March 27, the Bishop delivered his primary Charge in the Cathedral of St. John, "at six o'clock in the morning, to avoid the heat of the day," to the missionaries as well as the Chaplains. He spoke of the peculiar nature of the great enterprise which they had undertaken. On the Chaplains he urged the duty laid down in the old charter of the attentive and grammatical study of some of the native languages, so as to endeavour the conversion of their heathen neighbours.

"It is with no common thankfulness to God that I see the Episcopal Chair of Calcutta now first surrounded by those who are missionaries * themselves, as well as by those who are engaged in the important office of educating youth for the future service of missions."

The Bishop's Charge was full of optimism. He spoke severely of the letters which had been written by the Abbé Dubois, in which that well-known Roman Catholic missionary had spoken in despair about the conversion of India.

On June 15 Bishop Heber left Calcutta on a long Visitation tour of his Diocese. His predecessor, Bishop Middleton, had more than once visited the work in Southern and Western India: Bishop Heber decided to commence his grand tour by visiting the work in Northern India. The boat, in which he journeyed from Calcutta to Dacca and thence up the Ganges to Allahabad, was a sixteen-oared boat with a covered-in portion for bedroom, sitting-room, and dining-room in the centre. It was attended by two boats for servants and cooking. Shortly after reaching Dacca the Bishop had the great misfortune to lose his Chaplain, the Rev. Martin Stowe. His journey up the Ganges to Allahabad was broken by visits to Bhagalpore, Dinapore, Buxar, Chunar, and Benares. At every place he visited there was work to be done. As a result of his visit to Bhagalpore, the Rev. Thomas Christian, an S.P.G. Missionary, was sent there. Christian was a man of great

* He had at once granted licences to our missionaries, about which Bishop Middleton was doubtful.

devotion, who quickly mastered the language, and was at the commencement of a most useful career when, in his third year, he and his wife were carried off by jungle fever. At Dinapore the Bishop found " that everything was on a liberal scale except what belongs to the Church and the spiritual interest of the inhabitants." A Church, or rather the place so called, was a small inconvenient room in the barracks, which seemed as if it had been designed for a hospital ward. " The Chaplain of the station, whom I found extremely desirous of contributing to the welfare of the people, lamented in a natural and unaffected manner the gross neglect of Sunday, the extraordinary inattention of the lower classes to all religious concerns, and indifference shown by the Company's military officers to everything like religious improvement."

At Benares, where the Bishop halted for a week, amongst many duties he consecrated the burial-ground and carefully examined the school endowed by Jay Narayan. It is interesting to note that after a lapse of a hundred years this school is still continuing its useful career.

At Allahabad, which at that time had no Chaplain, we read of the Bishop confirming twenty candidates, and administering the Lord's Supper to eighty communicants. From Allahabad he journeyed with Archdeacon Corrie by road to Cawnpore. Here he found a Chaplain, but no Church. Divine Service was performed regularly in a thatched bungalow. On Sunday morning the Bishop confirmed over eighty candidates, and afterwards administered the Holy Communion to a similar number. From Cawnpore he journeyed to Lucknow, where he was received by Mr. Ricketts, the British Resident to the Court of the King of Oudh. At this time Lucknow had neither Church nor Chaplain. The Resident read Public Service regularly every Sunday in his house. Amongst other duties in Lucknow, the Bishop officiated at the marriage of the Resident. From Lucknow he journeyed onwards to Bareilly, and further on to Almorah in the Himalayas. He had heard that the Christians in Almorah had never had a Clergyman amongst them. " I was very anxious not only to give a Sunday to its secluded flock, but to ascertain what facilities existed . . . for eventually spreading the Gospel among these mountaineers, and beyond them into Tibet and Tartary. . . . If God spare me life and oppor-

tunities, I hope to see Christianity revived, through this channel, in countries where, under a corrupted form indeed, it is said to have once flourished widely through the labours of the Nestorians."

The Bishop was deeply impressed by the beauty of the Himalayas. He writes of Kumaon in the following terms: "It is a very interesting country; some of its views exceed in sublimity anything which I have seen in Norway, and more than equal all which I have heard or read of in Switzerland."

From Almorah he returned to the plains and visited Meerut. At Meerut he was delighted to find a large and handsome Church capable of accommodating over two thousand hearers. On it he writes: "It is remarkable that one of the earliest, the largest, and handsomest Churches in India, having in it one of the best organs, should be found in so remote a situation and in sight of the Himalaya Mountains." The Sunday services were well attended, and the Bishop was delighted with the work of Mr. Fisher the Chaplain. During his time in Meerut, he consecrated the Church, and a few days afterwards held a Confirmation, when two hundred and fifty-five Christians, Europeans and natives, were confirmed. Of Mr. Fisher's work the Bishop remarks: "Surely this is a greater work than could have been expected in so remote a part of India, and where no Englishman had set his foot till the conquest made by Lord Lake and Sir Arthur Wellesley."

From Meerut he visited Delhi, where he was met by Mr. Elliott, the Resident, and escorted through the city with Oriental pomp. He described the Mughal Emperor as "a poor old descendant of Tamerlane."

"The 31st December was fixed for my presentation to the Emperor, which was appointed for half-past eight in the morning. Lushington and a Captain Wade also chose to take the same opportunity. At eight I went, accompanied by Mr. Elliott, with nearly the same formalities as at Lucknow, except that we were on elephants instead of in palanquins, and that the procession was, perhaps, less splendid, and the beggars both less numerous and far less vociferous and importunate. We were received with presented arms by the troops of the palace drawn up within the barbican, and proceeded, still on our elephants, through the noblest gateway and vestibule which I ever saw. It

consists not merely of a splendid Gothic arch in the centre of the great gate-tower, but, after that, of a long vaulted aisle, like that of a Gothic cathedral, with a small open octagonal court in its centre, all of granite, and all finely carved with inscriptions from the Koran, and with flowers. This ended in a ruinous and exceedingly dirty stable-yard! where we were received by Captain Grant, as the Mogul's officer on guard, and by a number of elderly men with large gold-headed canes, the usual ensign of office here, and one of which Mr. Elliott also carried. We were now told to dismount and proceed on foot, a task which the late rain made inconvenient to my gown and cassock and thin shoes, and during which we were pestered by a fresh swarm of miserable beggars, the wives and children of the stable servants. After this we passed another richly-carved but ruinous and dirty gate-way, where our guides, withdrawing a canvas screen, called out, in a sort of harsh chant, 'Lo, the Ornament of the World! Lo, the Asylum of the Nations! King of kings! The Emperor Akbar Shah! Just, fortunate, victorious!' We saw, in front, a very handsome and striking court, about as big as that at All Souls', with low, but richly ornamented buildings. Opposite to us was a beautiful open pavilion of white marble, richly carved, flanked by rose-bushes and fountains, and some tapestry and striped curtains hanging in festoons about it, within which was a crowd of people, and the poor old descendant of Tamerlane seated in the midst of them.

"Mr. Elliott here bowed three times very low, in which we followed his example. This ceremony was repeated twice as we advanced up the steps of the pavilion, the heralds each time repeating the same expressions about their master's greatness. We then stood in a row on the right-hand side of the throne, which is a sort of marble bedstead richly ornamented with gilding, and raised on two or three steps. Mr. Elliott then walked forwards, and, with joined hands in the usual Eastern way, announced, in a low voice, to the Emperor who I was. I then advanced, bowed three times again, and offered a *Nuzzur* of fifty-one gold mohurs in an embroidered purse, laid on my handkerchief, in the way practised by the Baboos in Calcutta. This was received and laid on one side, and I remained standing for a few minutes, while the usual Court questions about my health, my travels, when I left Calcutta, etc., were asked. I had

thus an opportunity of seeing the old gentleman more plainly. He has a pale, thin, but handsome face, with an aquiline nose, and long white beard. His complexion is little, if at all, darker than that of a European. His hands are very fair and delicate, and he had some valuable-looking rings on them. His hands and face were all I saw of him, for, the morning being cold, he was so wrapped up in shawls that he reminded me extremely of the Druid's head on a Welsh half-penny. I then stepped back to my former place, and returned again with five more mohurs to make my offering to the heir-apparent, who stood at his father's left hand, the right being occupied by the Resident. Next, my two companions were introduced with nearly the same forms, except that their offerings were less, and that the Emperor did not speak to them.

"The Emperor then beckoned to me to come forward, and Mr. Elliott told me to take off my hat, which had till now remained on my head, on which the Emperor tied a flimsy turban of brocade round my head with his own hands, for which, however, I paid four gold mohurs more. We were then directed to retire to receive the *khelats* (honorary dresses) which the bounty of 'the Asylum of the World' had provided for us. I was accordingly taken into a small private room, adjoining the zenana, where I found a handsome flowered caftan edged with fur, and a pair of common-looking shawls which my servants, who had the delight of witnessing all this fine show, put on instead of my gown, my cassock remaining as before. In this strange dress I had to walk back again, having my name announced by the criers (something in the same way that Lord Marmion's was) as 'Bahadur, Boozoony, Dowlut-mund,' etc., to the presence, where I found my two companions, who had not been honoured by a private dressing-room, but had their khelats put on them in the gateway of the court. They were, I apprehend, still queerer figures than I was, having their hats wrapped with scarfs of flowered gauze, and a strange garment of gauze, tinsel, and faded ribands flung over their shoulders above their coats. I now again came forward and offered my third present to the Emperor, being a copy of the Arabic Bible and the Hindostani Common Prayer, handsomely bound in blue velvet laced with gold, and wrapped up in a piece of brocade. He then motioned to me to stoop, and put a string of pearls round my neck

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and two glittering but not costly ornaments in the front of my turban, for which I again offered five gold mohurs. It was lastly announced that a horse was waiting for my acceptance, at which fresh instance of Imperial munificence the heralds again made a proclamation of largesse, and I again paid five gold mohurs. It ended by my taking leave with three times three salaams, making up, I think, the sum of about threescore, and I retired with Mr. Elliott to my dressing-room, whence I sent to her Majesty the Queen, as she is generally called, though Empress would be the ancient and more proper title, a present of five mohurs more, and the Emperor's chobdars came eagerly up to know when they should attend to receive their bachshish.

"It must not, however, be supposed that this interchange of civilities was very expensive either to his Majesty or to me. All the presents which he gave, the horse included, though really the handsomest which had been seen at the Court of Delhi for many years, and though the old gentleman evidently intended to be extremely civil, were not worth much more than three hundred sicca rupees; so that he and his family gained at least 800 sicca rupees by the morning's work, besides what he received from my two companions which was all clear gain, since the khelats which they got in return were only fit for May Day, and made up, I fancy, from the cast-off finery of the Begum. On the other hand, since the Company have wisely ordered that all the presents given by native Princes to Europeans should be disposed of on the Government account, they have liberally, at the same time, taken on themselves the expense of paying the usual money nuzzurs made by public men on these occasions. In consequence, none of my offerings were at my own charge, except the professional and private one of the two books, with which, as they were unexpected, the Emperor, as I was told, was very much pleased. I had, of course, several bachshishes to give afterwards to his servants, but these fell considerably short of my expenses at Lucknow."

From Delhi the Bishop journeyed onwards to Muttra and Agra. At Muttra, the scene of Krishna-worship, he was deeply impressed by the darkness of heathenism, while at Agra he was full of admiration of the Taj. Leaving Agra, the Bishop next entered Rajputana. At Jaipur he baptised the child of the Resident, and at Nasirabad confirmed thirty candidates and administered the Lord's Supper to a large

number of people in the ball-room of the Club : needless to say, there was no Church at Nasirabad in those days. The road now led him through a wild country, where he came across the Bhil aborigines. Shortly before reaching Baroda he met his old College friend, Archdeacon Barnes. He reached Bombay in the early morning of March 29, where he was received with due honour. The Governor of Bombay had provided a convenient residence for him near the sea. Almost at once he was joined by his wife and family, whom he had not seen for ten months. During this period he had travelled fully three thousand miles, sometimes by boat, sometimes by palanquin, and generally by horse. He had visited almost every important station in the Province of Bengal. Though many of his Sundays were spent in the jungles, he had found opportunities of preaching more than fifty times, of frequently administering Holy Communion, and of holding Confirmations and consecrating new Churches. He seldom slept under any other cover than that of his cabin on the boat or of his tent when journeying on land.

After a few days' rest in Bombay, he resumed his work, and on April 25 confirmed one hundred and fifty candidates. A few days later he held a Visitation of the Clergy. From Bombay he paid a flying visit to Poona, where he met for the first time the Rev. Thomas Robinson, a Chaplain of exceptional ability, whom he appointed as his private Chaplain. Later on Mr. Robinson was appointed Archdeacon of Madras.

After four months in Bombay, during which time the Bishop had attacks of malaria and dysentery, he started on the return journey to Calcutta by sea, accompanied by his wife and children. He seems to have enjoyed greatly his stay in Bombay with its proximity to the sea, and admired greatly Mr. Mount-Stuart Elphinstone the Governor, whom he considered the cleverest man in India. There too he met an old friend, Sir Edward West, the Chief Judge, whose wife has written a charming book on Bombay, in which she mentions the great pleasure the Bishop's visit brought to them. Some time was spent in the Visitation of Ceylon, where he received a cordial welcome. To Archdeacon Barnes he writes : " I have spent a very interesting month in Ceylon, but never in my life, to the best of my recollections, passed so laborious a one."

Writing to his mother at the same period, he speaks of the spiritual condition of Ceylon in the following language: "Christianity has made, perhaps, a greater progress in this island than in all India besides. The Dutch, while they governed the country, took great pains to spread it; and the black preachers whom they left behind, and who are still paid by the English Government, show a very great reverence for our Common Prayer, which is translated into their language, and a strong desire to be admitted members of the Church of England. One excellent man, named Christian David, I ordained last year in Calcutta, and there are several more in training. There are also some very meritorious missionaries in the island: one of them is the son of our neighbour, Mr. Mayor of Shrewsbury, who, together with another Shropshire man, Mr. Ward, has got together a very respectable congregation of natives, as well as a large school, and built a pretty Church, which I consecrated last Sunday, in one of the wildest and most beautiful situations that I ever saw. The effects of these exertions have been very happy, both among the Roman Catholic descendants of the Portuguese and the heathen. I have confirmed, since I came into the island, three hundred and sixty persons of whom only sixty were English; and, in the great Church at Colombo, I pronounced the blessing in four different languages—English, Portuguese, Cingalese, and Tamil.

"Those who are still heathen are professedly worshippers of Buddha; but by far the greater part reverence nothing except the devil, to whom they offer sacrifices by night, that he may do them no harm. Many of the nominal Christians are infected with the same superstition; and are, therefore, not acknowledged by our missionaries; otherwise, instead of three hundred to be confirmed, I might have had several thousand candidates.

"On the whole, I rejoice to believe that, in very many parts of this great country, the fields are white already to harvest; and it is a circumstance of great comfort to me that, in all the good which is done, the Church of England seems to take the lead—that our Liturgy has been translated into the five languages most used in these parts of the world—and that all Christian sects in the East seem more and more disposed to hold it in reverence. Still little, very little is done, in comparison of all which there is to do."

The Bishop arrived in Calcutta on October 21, after an absence of fourteen months. On November 30 he held an Ordination in his Cathedral, when three missionaries of the Church Missionary Society were ordained by him. One of those ordained, the Rev. Theophilus Reichardt, had received Lutheran Orders while at Basle. Another of those ordained was the Rev. Abdool Masih. All three candidates were men of great personal devotion, and the Bishop was much cheered by this Ordination. After three months in Calcutta, the Bishop started, on January 30, for Madras to complete his Visitation of South India.

It gives one some idea of the nature and extent of his work when one realises that on March 8 the Bishop confirmed five hundred and seventy-eight candidates in Madras, and on the following day one hundred and twenty at Poonamaly, a military station in the neighbourhood. He was much pleased with the schools in Madras, and felt that Dr. Bell, a former Chaplain, had rendered conspicuous service by the system he had introduced into them. Leaving Madras he journeyed on to Cuddalore, and thence to Tanjore. On Easter Day, 1826, he preached at the Mission Church in the Fort of Tanjore. The fact of his being on the spot where the apostolic Schwartz had laboured, inspired him with unusual animation and considerably increased the interest of the Service. A Chaplain who was present at the Service speaks of it in the following language : " The Bishop's heart was full ; and never shall I forget the energy of his manner, and the heavenly expression of his countenance, when he exclaimed, as I assisted him to take off his robes, ' Gladly would I exchange years of common life for one such day as this.' "

While at Tanjore the Bishop, hearing that the Rajah had never been prayed for in the Public Services by his native Christian subjects, immediately composed the following prayer, which he ordered from henceforth to be used in all their Churches :—

" O Lord God Almighty, Giver of all good things, we beseech Thee to receive into Thy bountiful protection Thy servant his Highness the Maharajah Sarabojee, his family and descendants. Remember him, O Lord, for good, for the kindness which he hath shown to Thy Church. Grant him in health and wealth long to live ; preserve him from all evil and danger ; grant that his son and his son's son

may inherit honour, peace, and happiness; and grant, above all, both to him and to them, that peace which this world cannot give—a knowledge of Thy truth here, and everlasting happiness hereafter; through Thy Son Jesus Christ, our Saviour. Amen."

During his time in Tanjore the Bishop visited the Rajah, the visit being returned the following day. From Tanjore he went on to Trichinopoly. Instead of resting after the fatigues of his journeys, he spent the whole morning in receiving information of the schools and the mission. On Sunday morning, April 2, he preached in the Government Church, and held a Confirmation in the evening, when he confirmed forty-two persons. In his Confirmation address there occurred the following :—

"I dare not doubt the last words of our Lord upon earth, when He sent forth His ministers with a like commission to that which He had Himself received of His Father; and when though foreseeing—as what did He not foresee?—the lamentable degeneracy of those who should bear His name, He promised, nevertheless, to His Church His invisible protection and presence.

"O Master! O Saviour! O Judge and King! O God, faithful and true! Thy word is sure, though our sinful eyes may not witness its fulfilment! Surely Thou art in this place and every place where Thine ordinances are reverenced and Thy Name is duly called on! Thy treasures are in earthen vessels, but they are Thy treasures still. Though prophecies may fail and tongues may cease, Thy truth remains the same; and though prophecies have failed and tongues have ceased, and though the heaven and the earth have grown old, and are ready to vanish away, yet it is impossible but that when two or three gather together in Thy Name, Thou also shouldst not be in the midst of them. So continue with us, Lord, evermore, and let the Spirit, the Angel of Thy presence, be with us all our days, even as He hath this day been at hand to help, to deliver, and to sanctify all who came to receive Him.

". . . Let me entreat you to remember sometimes in your prayers those ministers of Christ who now have laboured for your instruction, that we who have preached to you may not ourselves be cast away, but that it may be given to us also to walk in this life present according to the words of the Gospel which we have received of our Lord, and to

rejoice hereafter with you, the children of our care, in that land where the weary shall find repose and the wicked cease from troubling; where we shall behold God as He is, and be ourselves made like unto God in innocence and happiness, and immortality!"

No one then realised that this was indeed the Bishop's farewell sermon. On Monday morning at six o'clock he visited the Indian congregation in the Fort, and confirmed a dozen candidates. After the Confirmation was over he returned to the house of Mr. Bird, where he was staying.

Still in his robes, he visited his sick Chaplain, and stood talking by his bedside for half an hour, with more than his usual animation, about the mission. He said it broke his heart to witness the poverty of the congregation. He lamented that he had previously had so little information of the details of the different stations, and declared his intention to require in future periodical reports from all in every part of his Diocese. After some particular arrangements for the morning, he retired to prepare for the bath previous to the late breakfast of an Anglo-Indian station. Having written on his Confirmation address the place and date of delivery, "he sat a few minutes apparently absorbed in thought." He had been at work of the most exhausting and exciting nature for at least four hours, under cover, but robed, and in the heat of a Madras April.

As is usual in the great official bungalows of an Indian station, a plunge and swimming bath is provided in an outbuilding, covered from the heat, and supplied from a spring or tank. The bath adjoining Mr. Bird's house held seven feet of water. The Bishop had enjoyed its refreshment on the two previous mornings. Now, after resting for a few minutes, as if to cool himself, he went into the building. Half an hour passed without a sound, when his servant, alarmed, opened the door and saw the body of his master under the water. Running to Mr. Robinson's room with a bitter cry, he declared that the Bishop was dead. Robinson rushed to the bath, plunged in, and, along with a bearer, lifted the body from the water, when he and Mr. Doran carried it to the nearest room. Their immediate efforts to restore animation, followed up by those of the garrison and superintending surgeons, who arrived at once, were in vain: "the blessed spirit was already before the throne of God." The venerable Kohlhoff, who had said

of him only the day before, "If St. Paul had visited the Missions he could not have done more," wept aloud, exclaiming, "We have lost our second Schwartz, who loved our Mission and laboured for it; he had all the energy and benevolence of Schwartz, and more than his condescension. Why has God bereaved us thus?"

Thus passed away with tragic suddenness one of the most attractive personalities our Church has ever had at home or abroad. In St. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta, there is a beautiful statue of this great Prelate and Missionary, kneeling in prayer and facing the Altar.

"Why does the Church make so much of Bishop Heber?" was the remark of a former Viceroy, when visiting the Cathedral, accompanied by the late Archdeacon Luckman. "What did he do to justify it?" "Your Excellency, it was not so much what he did as what he was that makes the Church hold him in such honour." "True," said the Viceroy, "true."

CHAPTER X

TWO SHORT EPISCOPATES, 1827—1831

I

Bishop James, 1827–1828

THE Episcopate of John Thomas James, third Bishop of Calcutta, was, like that of his predecessor Reginald Heber, tragically short. A brief memoir of him was published by his brother in the year 1830. The Bishop was educated at Rugby and Charterhouse, where he developed a remarkable talent for drawing. As a school-boy he was remarkable for his considerateness for the feelings of others—a characteristic which he showed markedly in later years. He entered Christ Church, Oxford, where he distinguished himself greatly. After taking his degree he remained at Oxford for some time, instructing private pupils. In the year 1813 he accompanied his friend, Sir James Riddell, Bart., on a long tour on the Continent, visiting Sweden, Germany and Russia, reaching Moscow shortly after the invasion of Napoleon and the burning of that city. "Thence they followed the line of the French retreat to Borodino and visited Kieff, Lemberg, and Cracow (names which have been very familiar in the Great War), eventually reaching Vienna." In 1816 the future Bishop visited Italy with an Oxford friend, George Hartopp. On his return to England he published his work, *The Italian Schools of Painting*, followed in 1822 by another book on *The Flemish, Dutch, and German Schools*. He was now a recognised art critic. Shortly after his return from Italy, he resigned his studentship at "the House," was ordained, and presented to his one and only living, Flitton with Silsoe, in Bedfordshire.

Here amongst other things he wrote a book entitled *The Semi-Sceptic; or, the Common Sense of Religion Considered*, which was favourably reviewed. About this time he married Marian Jane, fourth daughter of Frederick Neaves, Esquire, of Mangalore. Thus by his marriage he first came

in contact with India. In the year 1826, on the death of Bishop Heber, Mr. James was offered three times the Bishopric of Calcutta. After considerable heart-searchings and reluctance, he decided that it was his duty to accept it on the third occasion. He was forty years of age when he came out to India. His farewell sermon to his Parish Church was on the text St. Matthew x. 29. On this occasion he spoke as follows : " In going from hence to other duties in a foreign land, in God is my hope and my trust." He received his D.D. from Oxford and was consecrated in Lambeth Palace Chapel. The Consecration Sermon was preached by his brother, the Rev. William James, Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, who, as Newman tells us, was the first to teach him " the doctrine of Apostolic Succession."

Fourteen years earlier, when Bishop Middleton was consecrated, the sermon preached at his Consecration was not allowed to be published, so fearful were the authorities lest any special notice should be taken of Consecration and so trouble caused in India. On this occasion, however, Bishop James's Consecration Sermon was ordered to be published by the Archbishop of Canterbury. There is a note of great sadness in his farewell address to the S.P.C.K. : " If I have not courted this important office so neither have I shrunk from it, when I thought it my duty to obey."

Leaving his two elder children at East Sheen, Bishop and Mrs. James and their baby, accompanied by Miss Ommaney, a cousin of Mrs. James, and the Rev. S. Hartopp Knapp, his Chaplain, sailed on July 9, 1827, in the *Mary Ann*, bound for Calcutta. It was on the whole a pleasant voyage. Some pleasant days were spent at Madeira, and there was the usual frolic and fun when Neptune visited the ship at the crossing of the line. On October 14 they reached the Cape. The Bishop had important work to do there, and he and his party stayed with Lieutenant-Governor Burke at the Governor's House. The Cape was not then in the Calcutta Diocese, though it was so afterwards for a short time. Bishop James visited it by a special commission from the Crown. There were at this time only five Church of England Clergy at the Cape, three Colonial and one military Chaplain and one missionary of the S.P.G. On October 21 Bishop James confirmed about five hundred people in the Dutch Reformed Church, and at a meeting held a few days later raised no less than £2180 for an English Church, as well as

received promises of timber and of labour from carpenters and other artificers.

On January 14, 1828, they reached Saugor roads at the mouth of the Hooghly. Here they were met by Archdeacon Corrie, who was then Commissary of the Diocese, and also by Dr. Mills, the Principal of Bishop's College, and Mr. Augustus Prinsep, a member of a family distinguished in India for many generations, who shortly afterwards married Miss Ommaney.

Before meeting the Bishop it is evident that Archdeacon Corrie had heard reports which led him to feel very doubtful as to the wisdom of the appointment. Kaye the historian has mentioned a rumour current at the time, that the Bishopric had been conferred "not on a missionary priest but on a pictorial critic." We can therefore understand how it was that certain forebodings about his appointment had already filled the minds of some of the most earnest Churchmen in Bengal. "Our late beloved Bishop was so entirely a missionary, we can scarcely hope to see one like him," are words recorded in the life of Archdeacon Corrie. He soon found out his mistake.

Bishop James was at once taken to Government House to see the Governor-General Lord Amherst, who was about to retire. On January 19, 1828, he was enthroned in St. John's Church, which was then the Cathedral Church at Calcutta.

Bishop Heber had died on April 3, 1726, so nearly two years had elapsed before his successor arrived. On their arrival the Bishop and Mrs. James took up their residence in the house in which Bishop Heber had lived, the present Y.M.C.A. House in Russell Street. It was a large building with a deep colonnade to each story, built on the lines of Greek architecture.

His health at once began to give way. He had suffered from his liver in England, and it soon became apparent that he ought never to have been allowed to come to India Archdeacon Corrie tells us that he saw in him a great resemblance to Bishop Heber, both in appearance and manner.

From the first it was clear that the Bishop and his Archdeacon did not see eye to eye on missionary organisation. Bishop James thought that as missionary work was an essential part of the Church's work, it should be under the control and guidance of the Bishop. Archdeacon Corrie thought otherwise. He wished the Bishop to sit on the missionary committees, but only as an ordinary member.

On March 27 Bishop James consecrated the Church of St. Peter in Fort William, which had been built some years before. A difficulty had arisen about its Consecration during the time of Dr. Middleton, the first Bishop, who had demanded from Government an explicit transferance of the property on which the Church stood previous to its Consecration. As we have already seen, Bishop Middleton wished everything to be done in India as it was done in England. To meet his views, however, Government had instructed its local officer to prepare the requisite deed, though it is clear that Government did not think this procedure necessary. Before, however, the deed was executed Bishop Middleton had died. Within three weeks of his arrival Bishop Heber had claimed the declaration from Government which they said was all that was necessary. He had then consecrated St. Stephen's, Dum Dum, and St. James's, Calcutta. The same declaration was now made when St. Peter's, Fort William, was consecrated. After certain preliminaries it runs as follows :—

" The Governor-General in Council entirely concurs in the expediency of your Lordship's suggestion with regard to the property of the Churches of Dum Dum and St. James's, Calcutta, being consecrated, and it is the wish of the Governor-General in Council that the solemnity in question should take place at such time as may suit your Lordship's convenience. I am at the same time directed to intimate your Lordship that it is the intention of the Government to preserve the sacred edifices referred to from desecration of all kinds, and to dedicate them to the exclusive service of the Church of England (Government Department (Ecclesiastical), October 20, 1823)." On this guarantee Bishop James consecrated the Fort Church. For years the Church of England had been pleading for a suitable Church for its soldiers. When built St. Peter's was certainly one of the finest Churches in India. It cost Government one lakh fifty thousand rupees.

Bishop James was a firm believer in the parochial system, and during his short Episcopate he divided Calcutta into four parochial districts :

1. Cathedral : Saint John's.
2. Old Mission Church.
3. Saint James's.
4. Saint Peter's, Fort William.

He seems to have had an extraordinary power of getting at the heart of things and seeing through difficulties. Bishop Middleton had complained with some bitterness that the granting of marriage licences had been kept out of his hands and retained by the Supreme Court in Calcutta. In the earliest days legal permission to marry in India had been granted by the Governor-General, who was therefore placed in the position of a parent. Then by terms of the charter the Supreme Court was empowered to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the same manner as is exercised in the Diocese of London. These terms were originally intended merely to refer to the decision of matrimonial causes, divorce, etc., and not to the granting of marriage licences. It had occurred to some, however, that it might be a source of emolument to the lawyer, so the Supreme Court took to granting licences. Bishop Middleton was strongly opposed to this practice on the grounds of English Canon Law, which connects licences and banns with a spiritual order. He entered a strong but unavailing protest. Bishop Heber clearly disliked the practice, but left it alone. It was reserved for Bishop James to win the lawyers over to his side and to secure for the Bishops the right of issuing licences through their appointed Surrogates.

One of the great events of the Episcopate of Bishop James was the Consecration of the Chapel of Bishop's College. It is, however, clear that the same critical faculty which placed the Bishop in the first rank of art critics was equally at his disposal when considering the various problems of his gigantic Diocese. He saw at a glance that Bishop's College could never be what his predecessor Bishop Middleton had wished it to be, even though he strove to the utmost of his power to carry out loyally the intention of the founder. India, he saw, was too vast a country to have its needs met by any one College, and it was quite clear to him that a College run on the lines laid down by its founder and suitable for the home country, was hardly likely to suit India.

His interest in missions was profound. He had studied closely the life of Schwartz, and thought that a copy of his Life should be placed in the hands of every student of the College and every missionary in India.

Ascension Day, May 15, 1828, was the day fixed for the Consecration of the Chapel. The event is described fully in the life of Bishop Corrie. Three days afterwards the Bishop

held his first Ordination on May 18, in his Cathedral, when the Rev. Charles Wimberley of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and the Rev. J. W. Adlington of the Church Missionary Society, were ordained.

In his early days the Bishop had been remarkable in his thoughtfulness for others. This characteristic was soon manifest in India, especially in connection with the health of his missionary clergy. It is to him first that the idea of finding health resorts in the hills is to be attributed. He had appointed Mr. Robinson, the distinguished Chaplain of Bishop Heber, to the Archdeaconry of Madras. He at once got into touch with Archdeacon Robinson about a sanatorium for missionaries in "the Nelly Grey Hills," as the Nilgiris were then popularly described. He was also much interested in the question of a Eurasian ministry. Then came the crowning act of his Episcopate, his first and only Visitation. It was held on June 20, 1828. In his Charge he dwelt on the need of greater brotherliness and unanimity not only amongst the Clergy but amongst all Christians in India. Only with the greatest difficulty was he able to get through his Visitation. The condition of his health had become quite alarming, and the doctors in Calcutta were anxious to get him away on his tour as soon as possible. He started on June 24. His intention was to journey as far as Allahabad by boat and then onwards, like Bishop Heber, in the cold weather into Upper India. It is interesting to note that in those days the Ganges was the great highway to Northern India. The Grand Trunk Road belongs to later days. The journey from Calcutta to Buxar by boat lasted two months, and the journey to Allahabad, which to-day takes eighteen hours by train, took in those days three months!

Everything was done to make the Bishop's voyage comfortable, as far as it could be done in days when punkahs and ice were unknown. The Bishop and his wife and baby were in the first boat, and the second boat carried Mr. and Mrs. Prinsep (Miss Ommaney had recently changed her name to Prinsep). There were also the usual cook-boats. For the first few days the Bishop seemed to find relief, and it really seemed as if his health was improving. When, however, they reached Bhagalpore, he was attacked with terrible pain in his side, and it was then quite clear that he was suffering from abscess of the liver, and his only chance of life was a sea-voyage. The doctor pronounced most strongly that he must never return

to India. The voyage back to Calcutta was quickly accomplished, but so ill was the Bishop that he was not allowed to land at Calcutta to see the new Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck. He at once embarked on the *Marquis of Huntly*, which was bound for Penang, one of the East India Company's boats. Again for a few days his health seemed to improve, and again the symptoms became more and more alarming. By the middle of August it was perfectly clear that his end was approaching, and on August 17, Mrs. James, when reading to him the eighteenth chapter of St. Matthew, spoke to him of his approaching death. "If it is so," said the Bishop, "my hope and my firm faith is in Jesus Christ." One other hope he expressed before his death, viz. that his wife and children might be provided for. On Friday, August 22, he received the Holy Communion and passed away that evening. He was buried at sea, as the ship was many days from Penang. It gives one some idea of the difference between those days and the days we live in, when we read that while he died on August 22, 1828, no news of his death reached India before October 17. To-day the tragic news would have taken perhaps less than half an hour; then it took nearly two months.

Mrs. James went back to her father, and it is only right to say that the dying hope of the Bishop was not overlooked. His Episcopate had lasted only seven months. He had been a sick man from the time he had put his foot in India, but he had accomplished a great deal, and his noble life and beautiful patience and faith have left behind a lasting heritage to the Church in India.

II

Bishop Turner, 1829–1831

Of Bishop Turner, who succeeded Bishop James, we have but little to record. No Life of him was ever written. It is to Hough, the historian of Christianity in India, that we are indebted for what we do know. The Rev. John Matthias Turner was, previous to his appointment as Bishop of Calcutta, Rector of Willslow, in Cheshire, and Prebendary of Lincoln. News had reached England of the unsatisfactory condition of Bishop James's health. Lord Ellenborough, writing to the Governor of Bombay, says, "I am going to send you a very excellent new Bishop when Dr. James resigns;

mild and firm." When the appointment was offered him he determined to accept it, largely influenced by the dying injunction of his wife, recently deceased. She urged him, "at whatever sacrifice of ease or health and favourable prospects at home, to go out in the spirit of a martyr to that distant land; not counting his life dear to himself, if by any means he might promote the glory of his Redeemer and the welfare of immortal souls for whom He died." "She had before her eyes the names and early loss of Middleton, Heber, and James, but she bid him that none of these things move him, but in the faith and strength of the Lord go wherever his vows and fidelity as a servant and ambassador of Jesus Christ impelled him." Bishop Turner embarked for India July 15, 1829, spending a few days at Madeira, Rio Janeiro, and the Cape of Good Hope. He was commissioned by the Colonial Office to confer with the Governor of the Cape on matters connected with an ecclesiastical establishment for that Colony.

He arrived in Calcutta on December 10, and appears to have at once made a very favourable impression. Archdeacon Corrie, writing of him, says, "Bishop Turner seems to come in the spirit of Christian conciliation, he promises everything desirable in his station." Shortly after his arrival his Chaplain was obliged, through ill health, to return to Europe. This led him to ask Archdeacon and Mrs. Corrie to come and live with him in Bishop's House. The invitation was accepted: Archdeacon Corrie remarked, "I find his conversation very improving; he is naturally cheerful, and our intercourse is easy and agreeable." Bishop Turner had unquestionably a wonderful knowledge of parochial work, and he was soon in a position to start many improvements in Calcutta. Writing of his work he says, "I preach twice on Sundays—in the morning at Calcutta, and in the evening at Bishop's College. I have a catechetical lecture to a class of about one hundred and fifty every Wednesday morning during Lent, at the Cathedral, and an evening lecture, very largely attended, on Friday evening. I am engaged in reforming the mode of teaching in the native English Schools connected with the Establishment: I have carried into effect a District Visiting Society for the whole of Calcutta and its neighbourhood: I have laid the ground, and shall soon, I trust, get accomplished a Society for the Protection and Religious Instruction of Seamen in the Port of Calcutta, and

for a savings' bank : and, furthermore, I have three Churches building. You will agree that I must at least be a busy man. Would that I were more a man of business ! Some of the details of these things, which are now very embarrassing, would then become easy."

" Of the three Churches here mentioned, one was at the Free School, the second was a Mariners' Church at the Custom House, and the third at Howrah. The last two of these Churches were to be served by Clergymen appointed by the Gospel Propagation Society. These arrangements were all effected without any expense to Government."

The Bishop was a strong Sabbatarian. He drew up a form of association for the better observance of the Lord's Day. The circular was published in the Government *Gazette*, but hardly seems to have been a success, as it aroused a considerable hostility amongst certain people, and does not seem to have led to any great improvement in Sunday observance. So thorough was Bishop Turner in his work that Archdeacon Corrie, after six months' acquaintance with him, writes : " He is by far best suited for this appointment of any who have occupied it. With more practical knowledge of men and of parochial matters than any of them, he has large views of usefulness ; and, with perfect propriety of language, states them to Government. Had we a man who had any fixed views of Government at the head of affairs, something effectual might be accomplished for the religious welfare of India ; but when . . . is on one hand, and . . . on the other, of Government, what can be expected but fancies and crudities ? "

The Bishop from the first took a keen interest in the Bishop's College ; entered much into its affairs, and generally preached there on Sunday evenings. The Bishop was also unremitting in his attention to the objects of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, as well as of the Church Missionary Society. During his time a High School was started in Calcutta for the purpose of meeting the wants of the European and East Indian community. The East Indians at this time were increasing rapidly in numbers and respectability. While Calcutta was supplied with Charity Schools in which there were no less than five hundred boarders, it had been greatly in need of a school for children of a superior class. This need was now met.

On June 20, 1830, accompanied by Archdeacon Corrie,

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he started on a Visitation tour of the Northern Provinces. He had not, however, proceeded further north than Chunar, when circumstances compelled him to alter his plans. He therefore returned to Calcutta towards the end of September. On October 15 he sailed from Calcutta on a Visitation tour in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies. His visit to Madras was fully occupied with Confirmations and the examination of schools. From Madras he journeyed to Bangalore, a large military cantonment on the north of Mysore. Writing of this he says, "I have very interesting communications with the Mysore Christians, sixteen candidates for Confirmation and nearly thirty communicants. We set apart and dedicated a portion of ground near the Fort as a site for a Church, and the first stone was laid." On his route to Bombay the Bishop spent a few days in the Nilgiris. While there he was touched by the miserable condition of its Hill-people, the "Todas," and drew up a plan for their improvement. After spending some time in Bombay, where he remained for Christmas, he landed at Colombo on February 17, 1831. He seems to have been a good deal depressed by what he saw in Ceylon, which is the more remarkable because the feelings of his predecessors seem to have been so different. His depression, however, may probably be accounted for by the fact that hard work and the climate had begun to tell on him.

When he arrived in Calcutta on May 4, 1831, every one was struck by the change in his appearance. He appeared to be suffering from some internal illness which was excited into activity by the fatigue and heat he had to endure in his Visitation. From this time onward his health rapidly gave way. His closing days were days of great suffering marked by wonderful resignation. He often spoke to Archdeacon Corrie of his higher hopes. He said, "I have an assured hope," and added, "we want God to do some great thing for us, that shall prevent the necessity of humiliation and closing with Christ." When dying he broke out into prayer: "O Thou God of all grace, establish, strengthen and settle us: have mercy on all, that they may come to a knowledge of the truth, and be saved. There is none other Name given by which they can be saved. Other foundation can no man lay."

His appearance during the last few days exhibited a perfect picture of patient endurance. "There was an entire submission to the Divine will, increasing patience under

intense sufferings, calmness in viewing the dark valley he was to pass through, and full assurance of those glories that were shortly to open upon him."

He was a little more than forty-five at the time of his death, and had been Bishop of Calcutta a little more than a year and a half.

Between 1815 and the day of his death, hardly sixteen years had elapsed, and during that period Calcutta had received no less than four Bishops, two of whom are buried in Calcutta, one was buried at sea, and the fourth, Bishop Heber, at Trichinopoly, South India. It was growingly clear that the burden of touring and work laid on India's one English Bishop was more than one man could bear.

CHAPTER XI

THE FIRST METROPOLITAN OF INDIA AND HIS PERIOD, 1832—1858

Period.—England: The Early Victorian period. India: Growth of British power.

Books of Reference.—*Memoirs of Bishop Daniel Wilson*, by the Rev. D. Bateman, 2 vols.

WHEN writing somewhat fully of the lives of the first four Bishops of Calcutta, we justified ourselves on the ground that nearly all events of real importance to the Church of that period linked themselves with those early Bishops. The same remark applies, perhaps, even more closely to the life of the remarkable personality which we propose to describe in this chapter. Coming to India for the first time at an age when most men are thinking of leaving it, he laid foundations on which the Church is still building.

Daniel Wilson was the son of a wealthy silk manufacturer in London. "There is no milk and water in that boy," was a remark of Mr. Eyre, of Hackney, his schoolmaster, and certainly none of that mixed composition was apparent in his after-life. When only fourteen he was apprenticed to a relation, Mr. W. Wilson, who like his father was a silk manufacturer. His hours of work in office were from six in the morning till eight at night. One would have thought that after fourteen hours of work the boy would have indulged either in recreation or sleep. His biographer, however, tells us that he used to read Latin and Greek for two hours after supper, and was in the habit of writing essays on Scripture and moral subjects with appropriate mottoes!

At the age of seventeen his spiritual life began to wake up. Like so many of the Evangelical school of this period, he felt depressed and became growingly conscious of sin. He felt "that his prayers did not rise higher than the ceiling." In March 1796 he entered on a great spiritual

struggle. Hitherto he had manifested a decidedly sceptical attitude when discussing religious matters with his friends. Curiously enough, his chief difficulty lay in rather speculative regions. He had adopted Calvinistic views of predestination and election, and believed that good works were inefficacious for salvation.

At length he decided to consult the famous John Newton, Rector of St. Mary Woolnoth. In this interview, Mr. Newton bade him "wait patiently upon the Lord." He told him that "God could produce an oak in an instant from an acorn, but He does not." "A building erected for eternity must have deep foundations." On August 3, 1797, he went to the Holy Communion for the first time. He was not confirmed, however, till some time afterwards. On October 1, 1797, he wrote to his mother, "I have nothing but mercy to tell you of. Oh that my heart was but melted with love and gratitude!" His conversion was accompanied by "great self-abasement, strong crying and tears."

With his conversion came a new outlook on life. He now desired to enter the sacred ministry of the Church. Finding his father in opposition to his wish, he agreed to wait for a year before asking him to reconsider his decision.

Meanwhile one or two well-known men, including the Rev. Richard Cecil, urged upon his father strongly that his son's gifts would make him a useful clergyman. After six months his father consented to Daniel going to the University to prepare himself for Ordination. He was then twenty years of age. When this important decision was arrived at, Daniel at once set himself to work to prepare for life at Oxford. His working hours were from 5.30 in the morning to 8.30 at night. His physical health and strength throughout his long life were magnificent.

At this particular period religious life at Oxford was very slack, and indeed even learning was not keenly pursued. There seems to have been almost a contempt for religion, as is evident from a story told of a young graduate who, wanting a Bible, said, "How can I possibly go into such and such a shop to ask for one?"

When Daniel Wilson first went up to Oxford, he was but a poor classic, but so determined was he to overcome his deficiency, that on one occasion we find him translating all Cicero's letters into English, and then back again into Latin. At times he would read through the whole night,

and then throw himself on the carpet to rest. The result of all this hard reading proved, in his case, satisfactory, doubtless owing to his magnificent constitution, for at his degree he took a first class in honours and gained a special prize for an essay on the subject of "Common Sense." It is worth recording that when reading this essay before Convocation at the time of taking his degree, he was followed by Reginald Heber, who, as Newdegate Prize winner, was reciting his poem on Palestine.

After leaving Oxford, the future Bishop worked for a short time at Chobham, a village in Surrey, near Bisley. Here he received his earliest training in the Christian ministry under the Rev. Richard Cecil, one of the well-known Evangelical clergy of the day. At the end of his period in Chobham, he married his cousin, Miss Wilson, by whom he had five children, two of whom died when young. His eldest son John succeeded him later on as Vicar of Islington, and his daughter accompanied him to India and married Mr. Bateman, his biographer.

After leaving Chobham, Daniel Wilson was appointed Tutor of his old College, St. Edmund's Hall, and at the same time undertook Sunday work at Worton, near Oxford. This arrangement continued for eight years. He seems to have done a great work at Worton amongst the farming people.

His biographer makes it clear that both Daniel Wilson and his wife took immense interest in the spiritual and moral life of the College, which was quite an unusual thing in those days. It was their habit to invite small parties of undergraduates to their house, when his wife, by her charm and courtesy, did much to break up any stiffness and formality which Daniel Wilson might have imparted to these gatherings. Eventually he was made Vice-Principal of St. Edmund's Hall.

From Oxford, in 1811, he was appointed Incumbent of St. John's Chapel, Bedford Row, London, where he remained till 1824. During this period his reputation as an Evangelical preacher increased markedly. He had in his congregation a number of persons distinguished in the Evangelical world of the day. So rapidly also did his congregation increase that the Church had to be enlarged. The average number of communicants was from three to four hundred. He was the first to start a District Visiting Society in London.

Towards the end of this period he had a breakdown

owing to overwork. While still incapacitated from work, the Vicar of Islington, Dr. Strahan, died. Daniel Wilson's father-in-law had previously purchased the advowson of the living, which he then presented to his son-in-law.

Mr. Bateman, the Bishop's biographer, gives us a full account of his life during the eight years he was Vicar of Islington. The late Vicar had been very popular, but not over-energetic. There was a saying that "during the life-time of Dr. Strahan the parish slept, whereas during that of Dr. Wilson it awoke and has never slept again."

Daniel Wilson was an immensely hard worker and great organiser. In the course of eight years he succeeded in building no less than three large Churches, thus providing for the spiritual needs of over six thousand of his parishioners. He took a deep interest in the work of the Church Missionary Society, as well as in that of the Bible Society, and was constantly invited to preach in various parts of England. During his lifetime it is stated that he preached no less than five thousand eight hundred and six sermons.

In 1829, while Vicar of Islington, he sustained a great loss by the death of his wife. He was then over fifty years of age. His three surviving children were grown up. Since his conversion he had always taken a deep interest in missionary work, and when the offer came to him to go to India on Bishop Turner's death, he readily responded to it. He felt now that his wife was dead, his eldest son ordained, and married, and his second son abroad, that the ties which connected him with England were greatly weakened, and that he was free to respond to the call without unnecessary forebodings. His biographer tells us he had never been really a domestic man, not naturally fond of children or patient with them. His natural inclination was to be engrossed entirely in the affairs of his ministry.

He was apparently sounded privately as to his willingness to go to Calcutta before the offer was actually made. He had offended certain leading Churchmen of the day by his great outspokenness on certain questions. There was no such thing as compromise in his nature, and for this reason doubtless there was a considerable delay before the offer was definitely made.

He was consecrated in Lambeth Palace Chapel on April 29, 1832. The Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by Bishop Blomfield of London, Bishop Monk of Gloucester,

and Bishop Grey of Bristol, were consecrating Bishops. On his return home after his Consecration his evening meditation was as follows :

" Lord, I would now adore Thee for Thy great grace given unto me ; that I should be called to the office of Chief Pastor and Bishop of Thy Church. Oh ! guard me from the spiritual dangers to which I am most exposed—pride, self-consequence, worldliness of spirit, false dignity, human applause, abuse of authority, reliance on past knowledge or experience. Lord, give me simplicity of heart, boldness, steadiness, decision of character, deadness of affection to the world. Let me remember that the great vital points of religion are the main things to be kept constantly and steadily on my heart—then, compassion, tender deep compassion for souls—then, simplicity of object and abstraction from every other interfering claim—then, a spirit of prayer and supplication—then, the learning lessons from affliction when God sends it."

He had, as might be expected, a very busy time before sailing for India. There were dinners, amongst them one given by the East India Company and another by the Lord Mayor of London ; and there were meetings with all the Missionary Societies. His parishioners at Islington subscribed £180 and presented him with a gold clock and a silver inkstand. Before sailing the Bishop sent the Vestry a present of £100 for coal for the poor during the coming winter.

The six months' voyage to India was not spent idly, but was filled in with a carefully planned round of daily duties. There were daily Services, morning and evening. Much time, too, was given up to reading and study. And yet, in spite of all, it is clear from his biography that the long voyage was most distasteful to a man of his active habits. He was constantly going to the Captain with the question, " How fast are we going, Captain ? " which must have sorely tried the patience of that unfortunate man. At the Cape, where they spent ten days, his time was crowded out with work. " He confirmed 300 persons, consecrated two sites for Churches and Churchyards, preached four sermons, celebrated the Holy Communion twice, held an Ordination, addressed a public meeting, examined schools, wrote pastoral letters to distant stations, dispensed some charity, and left behind a whole box of books for gratuitous

presentation." He speaks of these ten days as amongst the most happy of his life, "from the relief, the contrast, the unexpectedness, the wide scenes of usefulness presented and the spiritual blessing vouchsafed."

He arrived at Calcutta on Monday, November 5, 1832, and was met by Archdeacon Corrie and Dr. Mill, Principal of Bishop's College. He was at once installed in the Cathedral, and in a short address reminded his hearers that for thirty years he had been before the Church.

The territories then included in the Diocese of Calcutta were enormous. What are now over forty dioceses were then included within it. His preliminary work in Calcutta seems to have been peculiarly difficult, as no correspondence of his predecessors with Government had been kept. Almost at the start he had to face an unpleasant task in connection with the Presidency Chaplains. He had announced that it was his intention to preach in the Cathedral on the following Sunday, and that it was his wish that his domestic Chaplain should take part in reading the Communion Service on this occasion. When this intimation was conveyed to the Senior Presidency Chaplain, it was met by an instantaneous refusal on the ground that the Bishop had no right to order his Chaplain to take the place of one of the Cathedral staff. This led to an examination of the licences of the Presidency Chaplains, which were duly called in by the Bishop and cancelled. Fresh licences were then issued, which prevented a recurrence of this difficulty.

The Bishop almost at once visited Bishop's College and all the Church Schools in Calcutta. He felt it his duty to write to Madras, Bombay, Ceylon, Australia and even to China, giving to Clergy in those regions his spiritual advice. He appointed the Rev. Thomas Carr Archdeacon in the place of Archdeacon Barnes of Bombay, who had retired. He was a prodigious letter-writer, and his letters to the Clergy were certainly most spiritual as well as constant appeals to them to live devoted lives.

Shortly after his arrival in Calcutta, his only daughter married Mr. Bateman, his Chaplain, who was afterwards his biographer.

The Bishop, on arriving in Calcutta, at once took up his residence in the house acquired by Bishop Heber. Finding the furniture very poor, he addressed Archdeacon Corrie on the subject. The Archdeacon replied, "I thought

there was enough for six months." It was clear that he had thought, in view of the speedy deaths of Bishops Heber, James, and Turner, that Bishop Wilson's Episcopate would certainly not last more than six months!

The Bishop, from the first, wished to do everything in a manner worthy of his position. He rented a house at Titagarh, thirteen miles from Calcutta. All his life long he had been a man of regular habits. It was his habit in Calcutta to rise early every morning and ride a small black horse which he had bought at Cape Town. After his morning ride some time was given to private devotions. Then came family prayers, followed by breakfast. At mid-day the Bishop always rested. In the evening he either rode again or drove. His health was splendid. He soon made friends with the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, for whom he entertained the warmest admiration. They frequently rode together in the morning, when they discussed various questions of Church and State. The Bishop, speaking of Lord William, described him as being "more a Christian than a Churchman."

From the start the Bishop took the keenest interest in the educational work in Calcutta, and visited all the Church Schools regularly. He was instrumental in settling serious differences which had arisen amongst the Governors of the famous Free School.

Shortly after arriving in Calcutta, he instituted a monthly Clerical Meeting, when all the Clergy in Calcutta and neighbourhood met at the Palace. Dinner was followed by a discussion. At Bishop's College he was seen constantly. Special rooms were set apart for him as Visitor, which he frequently occupied.

He certainly had a way of getting things done, which was soon apparent. For some time the people of Calcutta and elsewhere in India had felt the hardship of receiving their home letters five months after they had left England. A meeting in Calcutta, which had been presided over by the Chief Justice of Bengal, to try and start a steamer service between Suez and Bombay, had come to nothing. At the suggestion of Lord William Bentinck, the Bishop was asked to have a further try where the Chief Justice had failed; and interesting to relate, through his resourcefulness and determination the preliminary difficulties were overcome and the scheme successfully carried through. His corre-

spondence with Lord Clare, then Governor of Bengal, on this subject is most interesting.

On November 15, 1833, when opening his letters he found enclosures "which gave him the greatest joy." Waving two long, thin scripts of paper above his head, he asked those in the room to guess what they were. They proved to be a gift from the Begum Sumroo of a lakh of rupees for the Church and fifty thousand rupees for the poor in his Diocese.

A word or two should here be said of this remarkable woman, the Begum Sumroo, who was celebrated for her beauty, talents, and wealth. She had begun life as a nautch-girl, and had married Walter Regnaut, a French military adventurer, who was called in India, Sombre or Sumroo. Regnaut had won for himself a small native state called Sardhana, not far from Meerut. He himself was called the Nawab and she the Begum. After his death she became a Roman Catholic. The revenue of her state was over £120,000—one hundred and twenty thousand pounds a year—half of which she saved. Her Court and Palace were at Sardhana, in the United Provinces, where she maintained three thousand troops, kept an establishment of seven hundred female attendants, went to Mass every Sunday, wore a turban, and smoked a hookah, and was very fond of show. At her death, which took place in 1836, in her eighty-seventh year, her estates lapsed to the East India Company, but her immense savings were bequeathed to her adopted son, Mr. Dyce Sombre. Why she, as a Roman Catholic, gave this large sum of money to the Anglican Bishop of Calcutta is by no means clear. Possibly, in addition to feelings of benevolence, she thought her action might be viewed with favour by the British rulers in India.

About this time a Bill for the renewal of the East India Company's Charter was introduced into Parliament. This Bill was a source of great joy to Bishop Wilson, as it empowered His Majesty to divide the Diocese of Calcutta, to erect Calcutta into a Metropolitan See, and to appoint two Suffragan Bishops, one for Madras and another for Bombay. The Bill passed through Parliament on August 21, 1833, and reached India at the close of the year. Considerable delay occurred, however, in carrying out its provisions, as the expenditure sanctioned for the Indian Ecclesiastical Establishment was limited. In 1835 the

Archdeacon of Madras retired on pension, and Archdeacon Corrie of Calcutta was appointed first Bishop of Madras. In 1837 Archdeacon Carr was appointed Bishop of Bombay. Both Archdeacons went to England for their Consecration. The Bill by which these two Bishoprics were created formed a precedent of immense importance for a growing Church, and was speedily followed by the creation of further Bishoprics in Australia and Africa.

The number of Churches in India at this time was extremely limited. Many quite important stations were without any place of worship. In 1834 an anonymous letter was addressed to the Editor of the *Christian Intelligencer*, signed "Delta," lamenting the want of Churches and suggesting a remedy. The scheme suggested was (1) a fund for the building of Churches voluntarily throughout India; (2) a monthly subscription to be collected by the Chaplain of each station; (3) subscriptions to be collected by the Chaplain of each station; (4) management of the whole to be vested in the Bishop of Calcutta, his Archdeacon and the Presidency Chaplain. Later on it became known that the writer of this letter was a Mr. Wele Byrn. It is interesting to note that of one hundred and sixty Churches in the old Calcutta Diocese, sixty-six were helped from this fund.

Two big problems came up for discussion about this time, viz. Marriage and Divorce amongst Indian Christians, and the relation of Chaplains to Government and the Bishop.

As regards the first of these questions, it would seem that a number of missionaries of different denominations had come to the conclusion that if a Hindu who had many wives became a Christian, it was right that he should retain them all. Unlike Bishop Milman, the Bishop did not approve of this decision, which would, in his opinion, strike a serious blow against Christian marriage.

The relation of Chaplains to Government and the Bishop was by no means an easy one, as we have already seen in the life of Bishop Middleton. Hitherto the Court of Directors had reserved to themselves the power of appointing Chaplains, and had left it with the Local Governments where they were to be stationed. Bishop Wilson felt very strongly on this matter, and was especially opposed to Commanding Officers exercising authority over the Clergy. It would seem that, in the first instance, Lord William

Bentinck had been prepared to concede complete authority over the Chaplains to the Bishop. He had even asked the Bishop to write a formal statement of his views, to which he gave his verbal approval. When, however, Government orders were finally issued, it was found that they still reserved to themselves practically all the powers which they had previously claimed. The Bishop was deeply hurt by this action on their part, which he regarded as a betrayal of confidence and a breach of honour. He did not, however, press his point, although quite convinced that he was in the right.

The Bishop's first Visitation tour took him to Penang, Moulmein, Singapore, Madras, and Ceylon. On his voyage from Ceylon to Madras the boat in which he was voyaging almost foundered. So serious was the condition of things that the Captain said, "I can do no more! Tell the Bishop that he had better go to prayers." Suffering as he was from extreme sea-sickness, Bishop Wilson roused himself and with two or three others "cried unto the Lord out of the depths, and his prayer came unto Him into His holy temple." As he read St. Paul's narrative of shipwreck, recorded in Acts xxvii. 13–36, the roaring of the sea, the groaning of the vessel, and the shouts of the seamen drowned his voice; but God heard his voice, and gave him all those that sailed with him. Ere long the storm abated, the sun shone forth, the water in the vessel was got under, the boiler repaired, the fires were lit, and once more the vessel's head was pointed in the right course.

When landing at Madras, an unpleasant accident, which had an amusing side to it, befell the Bishop. While on board ship, the Bishop as a rule was careless of his dress, but whenever he went on shore he was most particular. On this particular occasion he had donned a glossy cassock, a starched cravat, a new hat and his best coat. With his pocket Bible and a small atlas, which were his inseparable companions, he stepped into the boat which was to take him on shore. As he and his party neared the shore they saw large numbers of people, military and civilians, awaiting them. Just as they were preparing to land, however, and were passing through the surf, one of the waves made a clear breach over their boat, and in an instant all its occupants were swept from their seats, and hats and books were floating in the water, which half filled the boat. Fortunately

for them, a third wave landed them on the shore, where they were greeted by sympathising but half-smiling friends. It certainly must have been an amusing scene as the Bishop emerged in his drenched clothes, with guns firing, a band playing, and troops presenting arms! He afterwards describes it in the following way: "A floundering surf wave finished our calamities."

During his time in Madras and South India, the Bishop was brought face to face with the caste question.

The caste question has always been a very acute one in South India. In most parts of India, when a person is baptised, he goes out of caste. It was not so in South India, where the number of the depressed classes, generally called Pariyahs, was very large indeed. When the question of caste came before the great missionary Schwartz, he is reported to have dealt with it in a somewhat indirect manner. On one occasion a Brahman accosted him and said, "Mr. Schwartz, do you not think it is a very bad thing to touch a Pariyah?" "Oh yes," said Mr. Schwartz, "a very bad thing." "But," said the Brahman, "what do you mean by a Pariyah?" "I mean," said Mr. Schwartz, "a thief, a liar, a slanderer, a drunkard, an adulterer and a proud man." "Oh, then," said the Brahman, "we are all Pariyahs!"

Bishop Heber had struck, what seemed to some a rather uncertain note on this question of caste. He had asked whether there were not badges of nobility in ancient pedigrees, such as those in Spain, even amongst the poorer classes, which divide old Spaniards and Castilians from persons of mixed blood. He had also pointed out that the United States of America entirely excluded Negroes and Mulattoes, however free and wealthy, from familiar intercourse with the whites. Bishop Wilson, as might have been expected, took a very different line. After carefully looking into the whole matter, he came to the conclusion that caste was anti-Christian. His utterances on this subject, as given by his biographer, are well worth reading. His courage and determination led for a time to something like a revolution in the Church in South India. Everywhere the English missionaries were most unpopular; hundreds of Catechists resigned; and the excitement was so great that it was even referrred to the Governor-General, who seems to have questioned the Bishop's wisdom. Bishop Wilson, however, stood firm, and in the long run his firm-

ness was rewarded, and caste was distinctly forbidden throughout our Church.

On his return from his first Visitation, many fresh difficulties had to be faced in Calcutta. It was at this time that Lord William Bentinck, whose health was shattered, left India for England. Before leaving, the Bishop, who had a deep regard and affection for the retiring Governor-General, held a special Service at Government House, which seems to have affected deeply every one present. After the Service was over he went round to every member of the small congregation, laying hands upon them and blessing them.

The Bishop was nothing if not outspoken, and one of his utterances about this time caused the deepest offence amongst missionaries. He said, "Perhaps not one in twenty of those who come out from Europe in all the Protestant Societies, with the best promises, and who go on well for a time, persevere in the disinterestedness of a true missionary." This statement called forth an indignant protest from a good many missionaries, but, as the Bishop sagaciously remarked, it was not intended for any one person, and, "if the cap did not fit, they need not put it on."

Another difficulty which was very prominent at this period arose from the attitude of the lay element of the Church Missionary Society towards the Bishop and Clergy. One leading layman on the Parent Committee in London, a Mr. Dandeson Coates, seems to have relegated to himself almost papal powers. The rights of the Bishop were entirely ignored, and the whole system of Church government seems to have been subordinated to his and other laymen's whims. It was perfectly clear to those who knew Bishop Wilson's character that he was not the man to sit down quietly under such a condition of things. After heated correspondence, a Committee was selected in England of the following persons: Dr. Pearson, Dean of Salisbury, Dr. Dealtry, Rector of Clapham, and the Rev. J. W. Cunningham, Vicar of Harrow. This Committee was placed in communication with the Bishop's son, who was then Vicar of Islington, acting for his father and the Church Missionary Society. All the points for which the Bishop contended were eventually granted him, viz. his power to grant or withhold licences, his approbation or otherwise of the location of missionaries, and the superintendence of the missionaries

as of his other clergy in the discharge of their ecclesiastical duties. Together with the communication of these concessions came a letter from the Earl of Chichester, President of the Church Missionary Society, apologising for past estrangement and inviting renewal of friendly and confidential intercourse.

But this was not the last difficulty which the Bishop had to face. When he arrived in Calcutta, he found that he had little or no power in his Cathedral, and that its various charitable bequests were administered by a select Vestry, over which he had no authority. This anomalous state of things had grown up from the beginning of St. John's Church, and none of his predecessors were prepared to fight the Vestry on the subject, or openly to question their authority. It was left to this determined Prelate to bring the whole question before Government, and to win over the Governor-General to his side. In due course the select Vestry was suspended, its charitable funds were transferred to the Supreme Court, and the Bishop's authority definitely established.

Hardly had one difficult problem been solved when another came up for solution. This time it was a question of great importance connected with a school which has since become famous. General Martin, a Frenchman, one of the well-known European adventurers of India, had amassed an immense fortune. When dying he left a very large sum of money to Government for a school in Calcutta. The school was intended for European and Anglo-Indian children. The General was by no means a religious man, but he had a heart for the poor. Though a Roman Catholic, he left his money without any reservation. The actual amount was something like one hundred and sixty thousand pounds. His desire was that the children who were to benefit by this school should, when their education was completed, be apprenticed, and every year a small premium and medal given to the most deserving or virtuous boy or girl; "that at an annual public dinner the toast should be drunk in memory of the founder"; that on each anniversary of his death a sermon should be preached to the children in "the Church"; and that the institution should bear on its front a suitable inscription and be called La Martiniére. All matters connected with the investment of the money and the scheme of education were left entirely

to the discretion of the Indian Government and the Supreme Court.

For thirty years after his death no scheme of education was devised; then, under the influence of Sir William Russell, a sum of seventeen thousand pounds was spent on a school building in Calcutta, which was to include the erection and fitting up of a Church or Chapel for Divine Service. The Governor-General, the Judges of the Supreme Court, the Bishop of Calcutta, the Members of Council, and the Advocate-General were appointed Governors and given authority to elect annually four others. It was laid down that twenty girls and thirty boys should be maintained, educated, and put out in life.

When Bishop Wilson arrived at the end of October 1832, it seemed as if this school was likely to become definitely connected with the Church of England as the National Church, representing the religion of England. This arrangement, however, was definitely opposed by Mr. Macaulay, and eventually, after prolonged discussion, was abandoned; probably one of the reasons for its abandonment arising from the fact that the Roman Catholic Vicar Apostolic had been appointed on the Committee. Eventually it was decided that the school was to be Christian, but undenominational, though the Church of England standards of worship and doctrine were to be observed, and that a layman should be appointed Headmaster.

The Bishop took an active part on the Committee which decided these matters, and spent an immense amount of time in discussing the question of religious education, both with the Vicar Apostolic and the Presbyterian Chaplain. It is interesting to note that the Bishop seems to have been the only person who got any praise in connection with these negotiations. The Vicar Apostolic was recalled by the General of his Order (Jesuits), charged with having conceded fundamental principles in the Report, and having improperly indulged in social intercourse with the Bishop. The Presbyterian Chaplain, Dr. Charles, was also rapped over the knuckles by his Church for diverging in some respects from its principles. The school was in due time opened, and has now a fine record of over ninety years. Later on a somewhat similar La Martiniére School was started in Lucknow.

Bishop Wilson was intensely fond of dispensing hospi-

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tality. He divided the Calcutta society of his day, with which he was primarily concerned, into seven or eight dinner-parties of thirty each. He had two hundred persons on his list, while Government House had about seven hundred.

Towards the end of 1835 the Bishop paid his first visit to the Syrian Christians of Travancore. We shall speak elsewhere of the early history of this Church and of all that befell it during the period of Portuguese ascendancy. When Bishop Wilson first visited Travancore the happy relations which had existed between our first C.M.S. missionaries in that region and the leaders of the Syrian Church had become decidedly strained. The then Metran or Metropolitan seems to have been a man of poor character, and partly, it is believed, because he received bribes of thirty rupees from every candidate for Orders and in consequence ordained a good number of unworthy men, and partly because he was jealous of English Church influence, the number of students attending the College which had been built largely by the C.M.S. for the training of the Syrian Clergy had fallen off almost entirely.

Such was the state of things when Bishop Wilson first visited Travancore. During his time there he investigated closely the state of the Syrian Church and had several interviews with the Metran. He urged him strongly to adhere to his original promise that all candidates for Orders should pass through the College and should be educated men. He was, however, most careful not to dictate in any way to the Metran, and for this reason urged all the C.M.S. missionaries in Travancore to, in every way, respect the ancient traditions of this Church.

From Travancore he set sail for Goa, where he spent some days visiting its ancient Churches and being present during the Festival of St. Francis Xavier. From there he sailed up the coast to Bombay. After some weeks in Bombay he started on a long tour through the centre of India to Simla.

The Bishop's cortège as he journeyed through Rajputana was certainly a formidable one, including no less than two hundred and seventy persons. First came the soldiers, horse and foot, the former as a guard of honour, the latter as a defence in a country full of thieves and dacoits. The horsemen were wild and undisciplined Mahrattas, full of fire and pride. The footmen were largely occupied in guarding the

camp by night. The first large station reached was Ahmednagar, which had been taken from the Mahrattas not long before by Sir Arthur Wellesley. Ahmednagar was at this time a large military station. During his time there the Bishop held different services. He was deeply impressed by the fact that a good many of the British officers had begun their Indian career at such an early age that they were utterly ignorant of the faith of their fathers. During the celebration of the Holy Communion it was clear to him that a considerable number of the officers had never attended the Service before.

From Ahmednagar the Bishop moved on to Aurangabad, and after leaving it, visited Asirgarh and Burhanpur on the Tapti. Burhanpur had once been the headquarters of a Mughal Viceroy. From there the Bishop journeyed to Mhow, in Central India. While journeying towards Mhow, he received an earnest entreaty from Bishop Corrie to return to Calcutta by sea from Bombay, and not to venture on this journey to Delhi, owing to the many dangers the traveller was exposed to. Bishop Wilson, however, paid no heed to this letter, and wrote in his diary, "I have resolved to go on: whatever Providence may appoint for me, I am with God." While at Mhow the Bishop paid a ceremonial visit to Holkar, the Maharajah of Indore. Holkar held a Durbar to receive the Bishop with due honour. Swarms of Mahratta cavalry were in attendance, commanded by one of Holkar's sons. The procession was characterised by all sorts of frantic demonstrations—the shouts of the people, the galloping of horses, firing of pistols, and clouds of dust. The armed camels formed a striking feature in it. On the back of each a swivel-gun was mounted, and at times they marched in ranks.

From Mhow the Bishop journeyed northwards, visiting Jaorah, where he was received by the young Nawab, a child of eight. On this occasion the old prime minister of Jaorah addressed him in the following manner: "My Lord, the words you speak are pearls and diamonds dropping from your mouth." Before reaching Neemuch, in Central India, the Bishop escaped a great danger. A band of Pindaris had attacked the bazaar at Neemuch the day before, carrying off large sums of money and leaving many dead behind them. As they retired from Neemuch, they seem to have missed the Bishop by only a couple of hours.

Chitor with its famous fortress was next visited and after that Nasirabad and Ajmer. Ajmer had been at one time a place of residence for the Court of Akbar, and it was and is still a place very sacred to Mahomedans. The Jains also have a celebrated temple in Ajmer. From Ajmer the Bishop journeyed to Jaipur, which was then recovering from a tragedy which had stirred its people to the depths. The British Resident, while mounting his elephant after attending Durbar, was attacked and severely wounded by an assassin. One young civilian was actually killed.

Wherever he went Bishop Wilson was ready to authorise any godly layman to read the Service of the Church, provided that no Chaplain was available.

Eighty-nine days after leaving Bombay the Bishop arrived in Delhi. His stay there was but short, as he was anxious to be at Meerut, with its large number of Christians, for Easter. During his time in Delhi he paid a ceremonial visit to the Mughal Emperor, as Bishop Heber had done, and presented and received the usual ceremonial gifts. Owing to heavy floods in the country between Delhi and Meerut, the Bishop was unable to get to Meerut until Easter Tuesday. He was greatly delighted with what he saw at Meerut, especially its large Church which is referred to in the Life of Bishop Heber.

Leaving Meerut he journeyed to Mussourie on his way to Simla. Finding that there was no Church in Mussorie, he at once set to work to have one built. During his visit a considerable sum of money was raised towards it, the Bishop himself subscribing generously. The foundation-stone was actually laid by him before leaving for Simla. At Simla he halted for four months, during which time he seems never to have been idle for a moment. Constant services, sermons, and preparation for the work before him filled all his spare hours.

After leaving Simla he paid his first and only visit to the Punjab. Halting at Roopur on the Sutlej, he journeyed from there by river to Lodhiana. Whilst sailing down the river his mind was filled with the thought of the conversion of the Punjab, and rising from his deck-chair and looking around a country then scarcely known, he exclaimed aloud, "I take possession of this land in the Name of my Lord and Master Jesus Christ." It seemed little likely at the time that we should have any inheritance in that vast tract of India.

At Ludhiana, as was his wont, he at once set to work to secure for it a Church. The spirit which had animated him when Vicar of Islington, and had enabled him to add to his large English parish three Churches, was still with him in India. Wherever he went, if there was no Church in the station, he set to work to have one built, partly by Government grant and partly by public subscriptions. While at Karnal he ordained Anand Masih, a convert of fifteen years' standing. Previous to his Ordination Anand Masih had spent some time in Simla with the Bishop, preparing for this great event in his life.

From Ludhiana the Bishop retraced his steps to Delhi, where he was to spend some time. Amongst the notable people he met while there was the famous Colonel Skinner, who had raised and commanded a body of irregular cavalry and had been made a full Colonel of the English army by George IV. The Bishop's biographer describes Colonel Skinner when he visited the Bishop as a tall, stout, dark man of fifty-six, clad in military dress of blue, with a heavy helmet on his head, a broadsword at his side, and a red ribbon on his breast. His sons were Christians, as he was, but his wife remained a Mahomedan, though, as he said with tears to the Bishop, "a better wife for more than thirty years no man ever had." Colonel Skinner had apparently made a vow that if his life was preserved in action he would build a Church, a mosque, and a temple. The Church is now well known to all who visit Delhi. It was consecrated by the Bishop during this visit. It is interesting to note that immediately after the Consecration the Bishop held a Confirmation, when Colonel Skinner knelt at the Altar to dedicate himself, as he had previously dedicated his Church, to the service of God. The Colonel's three sons knelt alongside him. The scene must have been very impressive, and the Bishop's address moved all to tears. At the conclusion the Colonel himself attempted to express his acknowledgment, but words failed, and he wept silently, while the Bishop prayed that the kindness showed to the house of God might be returned sevenfold into his own bosom. None could foresee at that time that twenty years later this Church, so interesting in its early history, would be "riddled with cannon-balls, filled with dying men, and made a magazine for shot and shell."

The Bishop next visited Cawnpore. In 1837 Cawnpore

was a very large station, stretching seven miles in length and containing, with British troops, three thousand Christian inhabitants. Its moral and religious tone was at this time very low, and unfortunately the Commanding Officer and the Senior Chaplain were on bad terms. Owing to well-meant but mistaken action on the part of the Chaplain, Government had transferred him to another station. In those days the location of Chaplains was in the hands of the Local Government. Shortly after the Chaplain's transfer the Bishop visited Cawnpore. As his biographer says, "He dropped suddenly, as it were, into the station on a Saturday night; and on the Sunday morning he rose up in the pulpit and said all that was in his heart. First, he mourned over the "cruel" removal of one of their excellent Chaplains. Secondly, he openly denounced the irreligious conduct of those who had been recently removed from the station. Thirdly, he announced his purpose of laying the foundation-stones of two new Churches before he left. And lastly, he intimated his resolution of discovering whether there was "any grace and good feeling in Cawnpore or not." Nothing less than this, or something like this, could have produced the desired effect. As it was, the station was effectually aroused.

Leaving Cawnpore with the intention of returning to it on his way to Calcutta, the Bishop paid a flying visit to Lucknow. On his return to Cawnpore he laid the foundation-stones of two Churches, and he himself gave a large donation towards them. As he left Calcutta he wrote in his diary as follows :—

"Never did I enter a station," he says, "with such despondency, and never did I leave one with such joy. Three years of irritation between the Clergy and the military authorities had led the Senior Chaplain, in an ill-omened hour, to write an offensive letter. The Chaplain was removed, and all was in a flame. His large circle of friends were up in arms. The design for building Churches (which had been taken up and laid down more than once or twice since 1827, when materials were collected) had been almost abandoned in despair. Well, in three short weeks God has cleared up the sky. The station is friendly; they submit to their loss; they have come forward nobly to subscribe; the Engineer officer has worked cordially; two Gothic designs are determined on; and a capital committee is appointed with rules laid down for their guidance. You should have

seen the ceremony yesterday of laying the foundation-stones. The immense throng of people—all the soldiers drawn out—all the officers—all the gentry—and thousands of natives! It would have done your heart good. A numerous Masonic Lodge assisted. The Senior Civilian laid the stone at the Church, and the Brigadier at the Chapel. I was almost killed with the exertion of addressing, perhaps, three thousand people in the open air. I contrived, however, to make them hear. To God only be glory in Christ Jesus! Amen."

His next halt was at Allahabad, and while there he was instrumental in removing a serious blemish which had for long been countenanced by Government. When he reached Allahabad on February 11, its great annual fair, or mela, was just concluding. At this time every one who visited the mela, whether native or English, had to pay a tax of one rupee, and an enormous sum of money was raised by this means. To the Bishop the idea of a Christian Government enriching itself by taxes from such a source seemed unbearable. He at once roused himself to effort. Having found a despatch of the Home Government, dated February 1833, absolutely prohibiting the collection of this tax, he next obtained one of the tickets which had been issued, numbered 76,902. Having gathered up all the statistics and cast the balance between profit and loss, he made a strong appeal to the Governor-General. At the same time he wrote to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and his statements obtained immediate publicity throughout England and India. He also wrote to many influential and philanthropic friends in England. It is interesting to note that before the end of the year the tax was abolished.

About this period Bishop Wilson heard of the death of his friend Bishop Corrie of Madras, to whom he was deeply attached.

Shortly after his return to Calcutta he visited Burdwan, and was delighted with the work of Mr. and Mrs. Weitbrecht, missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, whose son was till recently one of our most distinguished missionaries in India. About this time the Bishop held his second Visitation, and dealt in his Charge with the Tractarian Movement. Needless to say, his language against those who exalted tradition to the place of Holy Scripture was most severe and uncompromising. "Mark my words," said he, "if some of these men do not leave our Church and join the Apostasy of

Rome." Again, "If no one brother will unite with me I am ready to protest alone against this egregious drivelling fatuity."

During his absence from Calcutta Lord Auckland had been appointed Governor-General. The fact that he was indifferent in matters of religion made the Bishop long for the days of Lord William Bentinck.

After holding a Visitation of his clergy, the Bishop at once started for Penang and Singapore, on a voyage which took nearly two months. At Malacca he was allowed to use the Dutch Church, which had been fitted up very carefully for his visit. Two Nonconformist missionaries in those regions had applied for admission to Holy Orders. Sad to record, before the fulfilment of their conscious desire they both had died of cholera within a short period of one another.

On his return to Calcutta he was rejoiced in spirit by the arrival of his new domestic Chaplain, the Rev. John Henry Pratt, Fellow of Caius College, Cambridge, and son of his old tutor. In the absence of the Principal of Bishop's College, who was compelled to go on a sea-voyage owing to malaria, the Bishop and his Chaplain took over a good deal of the work at Bishop's College.

No record of the Bishop's life would be complete without some mention of the building of St. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta, which came about in this way. Plans had been prepared for the enlargement of St. John's Church—then the Cathedral—when it was found impossible to carry them out on the existing site. The Bishop then conceived the idea of building a great Cathedral Church on "the Maidan," which was to cost at least four lakhs. Towards this he himself contributed largely. A suitable site was granted, and an architect, a distinguished officer in the Royal Engineers, was selected. Writing of it at that time the Bishop says, "I seem to myself like Moses surveying from Mount Pisgah the promised land. I figure to myself my beautiful spire, rising up two hundred and twenty feet—the fine deeply buttressed Gothic nave, chancel, and transepts, marking the massive grandeur of the Christian religion—the magnificent organ sounding out, 'Thou art the King of Glory, O Christ' —my native Presbyters, in their snow-white vestures, walking down the aisles—the Christian neophytes responding in the choir—and Jesus acknowledged as the Lord of all."

Towards the end of the year 1838 the Bishop was deeply

moved by news which came from Krishnagar of a large number of Indians pressing into the Church. Twelve hundred inquirers had already appeared, and amongst them were many anxious candidates for baptism. Krishnagar was not the only place where there seemed at that period to have been movements towards the Christian Church.

"What is all this?" said the Bishop. "What is God about to do for us in India? Thousands of souls seem to be making their way up from the shadow of death to the fair light of Christ; or rather, as we hope, are about to be translated from the kingdom of darkness into the kingdom of God's dear Son." The Bishop himself baptised quite a number of these converts. Amongst the questions he asked them beforehand were: "Will you renounce all idolatry, feasts, pujas, and caste? Will you forgive injuries?"

To Bishop Wilson we owe the Additional Curate Society, now called the Additional Clergy Society. The story of its genesis is decidedly interesting.

"As I was walking up and down the grounds, arm-in-arm with the Governor, I turned the conversation to our destitution of Chaplains, and inquired whether an Additional Curates Society might not be formed for all India, giving titles to youths educated at Bishop's College, and ordained by the several Bishops? *This Society would have the East Indian population particularly in view.* We never can have Chaplains enough for them, and they are increasing most rapidly. Of course, the plan must be well digested and wisely begun." It was out of this conversation that the Additional Clergy Society, a Society which has done so much for the Church in India, eventually grew.

His next tour led this indefatigable man into Central India and the Central Provinces. Agra, Gwalior, Jhansi, Saugor, and Jubbulpore were all visited. At Agra and neighbourhood the Bishop laid the foundation-stones of two new Churches. At Saugor, which was then a large and important military station, he remained for twelve days, which were crowded with work. At Jubbulpore, which at this time bore a bad reputation for unbelief and immorality, the Bishop laid the foundation-stone of the present Civilian Church.

In the year 1839 Dr. Mill retired, owing to ill health, when the S.P.G. appointed Professor Street, a strong Tractarian. The Bishop deeply regretted and even resented

this appointment, but once the appointment was made the Principal could only be removed for some act of conduct which was unworthy or for doctrinal reasons. The Bishop approached the S.P.G. on the subject, but was informed by them that it was impossible to remove Mr. Street unless for such reasons as these.

Evidently Simla had attracted the Bishop, for he again spent four months there in the year 1840. On leaving Simla he visited Assam and Sylhet.

In 1845, after thirteen years of continuous work, the condition of his health made it imperative for him to go home for rest. His fourteen months at home, which were to have been a time of complete rest, were, as is so often the case with missionaries on leave, filled up with every kind of engagement. He was chosen to preach the Annual Sermon of the Church Missionary Society at St. Bride's Church, on which occasion he preached for eighty-five minutes !

On nearly every occasion when preaching in England he sought an opportunity of speaking against the Tractarian Movement, which he regarded as Romanising the Church and disloyal to Christ. Though on sick leave, he preached no less than sixty-one sermons while in England.

Shortly after his return to India one of the great events of his life took place, namely, the Consecration of the Cathedral of Calcutta, which had been built and endowed entirely by his efforts. Eight years had elapsed since the first stone was laid on October 8, 1838 : the estimated cost being forty thousand pounds, though the final bill was only a little short of fifty thousand. The new Cathedral was designed to answer several needs. First, " to be a Parish Church for a large district of Calcutta ; secondly, to be served by a body of Clergy under the designation of a Dean and Chapter who were to bear a missionary character and to carry out missionary work ; thirdly, it was to be the Cathedral of the Metropolitical See of Calcutta."

To carry out the second of these designs a large endowment fund, amounting to nearly thirty thousand pounds, was raised. The Bishop's intention was to have six Missionary Canons who, with the addition of the Archdeacon and six Honorary Canons, would constitute the Chapter of the Cathedral. As it was impossible to obtain an Act of Incorporation for the Cathedral, this design fell through, and this large sum of money was ultimately disposed of

in various ways. The Bishop himself gave twenty thousand pounds, half for the building and half for the endowment; the East India Company appointed two additional Chaplains and gave fifteen thousand pounds; twelve thousand pounds were raised in India, and thirteen thousand pounds were raised by subscriptions in England; the S.P.G. and S.P.C.K. each gave five thousand pounds; Queen Victoria gave a beautiful Communion Set; and the Dean and Chapter of Windsor presented the magnificent stained glass window now in the east end of the Cathedral, which cost four thousand pounds.

The Bishop's description of the Consecration Service must be given in his own words: "You will want me to give you a further account of the Consecration. It was a wonderful sight for India. As I drove to the Cathedral at ten o'clock, the whole space around it was filled with carriages of all descriptions in the most picturesque groups. The Clergy and laity were awaiting my arrival, surrounded with multitudes of spectators. I made my way through them with verger and pastoral staff; and then proceeded up the middle aisle to the Communion rails. The petition for Consecration was then read. I assented; and then the procession began, repeating, as usual, the twenty-fourth Psalm. The other forms having been gone through, the Morning Service commenced, the organ leading superbly in the chaunts. Colonel Forbes was sitting near me. I turned to him and said, 'How beautifully the voice is heard!' When I ascended the pulpit, there was all around me a sea of heads reaching to the doorway and outer steps. At the Communion, the thirty clergy kneeling at the rails and the five ministering within presented to my mind an overwhelming sight. We retired at half-past three o'clock, praising and blessing God for all we had heard and seen. A dinner at the Palace followed, which went off admirably. The Governor, Members of Council, Secretaries, Clergy, etc., were full of kindness and love. Can I wonder that the Lord sent me a 'thorn in the flesh,' a 'messenger of Satan to buffet me'? No: I rejoice in His chastening hand."

After the Consecration the Bishop again went on tour, visiting amongst other places Travancore. Shortly after his return to Calcutta, at his request the Government purchased Mr. Wilberforce Bird's house, close to the Cathedral, with money which had been acquired by the sale of the

Bishop's Palace in which Bishop Heber and his successors had lived. The old Palace, it is interesting to note, is now the Y.M.C.A. headquarters in Calcutta.

About this time there arose a dispute in connection with the erection of mural tablets in the Churches. Certain stations, one of them Mhow, in Central India, raised objections to the permission to erect being left with the Chaplain. They wanted the matter to be left in the hands of the civil authorities. This roused the spirit of the aged Bishop, who contended very vigorously for this right remaining in the hands of the Clergy. The eventual decision ran as follows: "That in accordance with the Bishop's inherent rights, and in subordination to his authority, the charge of the Church was to be considered as vested in the Chaplain for the time being; to whom also appertained the control over the erection of mural tablets."

The form of application for permission to erect them was to be the same as heretofore, but the process was to be simplified. The fee of fifty rupees was also to be paid, but not either to Registrar or Chaplain. Three quarters of it was to go towards the payment of Church expenses, and one quarter was to be placed in the hands of the Chaplain for charitable purposes.

About this time Dr. Kaye was appointed Principal of Bishop's College, and Professor Street stepped down from that important position and became one of its Professors. One cannot read even the rather prejudiced account given in the Bishop's biography without being struck by the extraordinary humility and gentleness of Professor Street's character. He did not long hold his Professorship, as he was seized by a fatal illness which terminated his career. When dying he invoked God's blessing upon the Bishop.

On April 11, 1848, the heart of the Bishop was rejoiced by the passing of an Act for the establishment of liberty of conscience. By this means any Hindu or Mahomedan who embraced the Christian faith no longer had to forfeit his inheritance. The Bishop in his diary speaks of this day as being "as memorable a day as December 4, 1829, when Lord William Bentinck abolished the rite of Sati."

Quite the most striking journey in a life full of journeyings was the Bishop's visit to Borneo. His reason for visiting it was the receipt of a letter from the Bishop of London, bearing the following direction: "The Lord Bishop of

Calcutta, Sarawak, Borneo : care of the Rev. Mr. Church at Singapore." He was requested to visit the Island of Borneo, which being included in none of the Eastern Dioceses, fell under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London. He was also asked when there to consecrate the new Church erected by Sir James Brooke, the Rajah of Sarawak. A voyage of fourteen weeks and a journey of four thousand miles had to be undertaken by the Bishop in his seventy-third year !

He at once communicated with Government and, as no obstacle was raised, determined to go. " On the whole," he says, " I believe it to be my duty, and my concern is only to die daily, leaving results with sovereign faithfulness, love, and power." The journey was undertaken with safety and with apparently a great deal of enjoyment. He speaks of meeting with Sir James Brooke, the Rajah of Sarawak, and tells the story of how, when Sir James Brooke was dining with Queen Victoria at Windsor in 1847, Her Majesty asked him " how he could govern so many thousands without troops ? " In his reply the Rajah said " he managed the natives easily enough, but the four or five English he had with him gave him much more trouble ! "

His visit to Borneo was followed some time later by his consecrating a Bishop for that interesting and romantic See. In October 1851, assisted by Bishop Dealtry of Madras and Bishop Smith of Victoria, Hong Kong, he consecrated the well-known Dr. Macdougal, who was not only a Doctor of Divinity but also a skilful surgeon. There is a story told of how, after having conducted one of his services, the new Bishop divested himself of his lawn sleeves and proceeded to amputate a man's leg !

The Bishop's letters to his Chaplains are amongst the most interesting things in his biography. He certainly made demands on them which no modern Bishop would dream of doing. To one Chaplain he writes, informing him that he is on no account to " turn to the east in the Creed, or to preach in a surplice, or to call the holy table the altar."

On October 1855 the Bishop delivered his last Charge, for though he lived for some time afterwards, he never again summoned his Clergy to a Visitation. The closing passage of the Charge is well worth remembering :—

" And now, brethren, I most affectionately commend you to God and to the Word of His grace. This is guardianship

under which we may comfortably leave each other. The inheritance of the saints in light is before us. The more we study the Word of God's grace, the better shall we be prepared for that unspeakable blessedness—an inheritance incorruptible and undefiled, and which fadeth not away, as all earthly possessions do—an inheritance purchased for the Church of God with His own blood, to which repentance towards God and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ are the means of conducting us—an inheritance to which they only who are sanctified and prepared will be admitted.

"The time will come on earth when the dearest friends must be torn one from another: but we look forward to a state where nothing shall separate us, nothing give occasion to the words which St. Paul spake, and which were above all grievous to his flock, that they should see his face no more; but where a blessed reunion with those whom we have loved here below in Christ will efface every preceding sorrow and trouble, and all the past will be swallowed up in the eternal fruition, and joy, and holiness, and mutual love, and transport of seeing Jesus our Master as He is, and being with Him for ever and ever."

Immediately after delivering this Charge he started on a long journey to Burma, where he arrived on November 14, 1855. Here as elsewhere he insisted on Churches being built; and during this tour in Burma arrangements were made for the building of no less than three Churches at a cost of thirty-five thousand rupees each, Government in every case assisting with grants-in-aid. It is interesting to note that the first of these Churches was called St. Andrew, after Lord Dalhousie, who was then Governor-General!

Leaving Rangoon, he journeyed up the river to Thayetmu, then the most advanced post in Burma. He found its congregation worshipping in something worse than a tent, and at once set to work to have a Church built.

On his return to India he welcomed the new Governor-General, Lord Canning, conducting a Service at which both the new and the retiring Governor-Generals were present.

The Bishop was now completely worn out, and it would seem to have been his obvious duty to retire and make way for a younger man. For certain reasons, however, he had the idea rootedly fixed in his mind that to perfect his work he must die in India. His constant prayer for many years previously had been that "he might end well."

The closing year of his long life was darkened by the terrible events connected with the Indian Mutiny. Calcutta was crowded with refugees from up-country. "Something like a feeling of panic existed at this critical moment," says the Bishop: "we are all passengers together in a sinking ship." He applied to the Governor-General for a day of humiliation, which was declined. Though Lord Canning was unwilling to order a day of humiliation, he expressed the hope that the Bishop would take any steps that he might feel fit in his own way. He prepared a humiliation sermon and a special service. It is interesting to note that when selecting proper Psalms and Lessons for his service he speaks as follows: "It is all illegal, I know, but I trust it will be passed over and forgiven, and that the extraordinary circumstances of the insurrection will warrant my taking this unusual step"! It is always open to question as to what kind of sermon people need in a crisis of this kind, but the impression left in the mind by that portion of the sermon quoted by his biographer is that his was hardly likely to give courage to men in a desperate position.

From this time onwards his health failed rapidly. Towards the end of the year 1857 it was thought that a voyage to the Sand Heads might enable him to make a partial recovery. With his indomitable will this was attempted, but after sixteen days he returned to Calcutta, sinking rapidly. He passed away on January 2, 1858. The last entry in his diary is interesting. No. 17, Bishop's private notes, January 1, Friday evening, 7.30 p.m., "All going on well, but I am almost dead. D. C. [Daniel Calcutta] Firm in hope."

Bishop Wilson's biographer has some interesting reflections on the Bishop's character. He alludes to his extraordinary energy, such as visiting Burma at the age of seventy-eight; living in houses of mats, and constantly building fresh Churches in Christ's honour. He also alludes to his deep piety and his intense spirit of prayer. "See what a poor creature I am," he said, on entering the breakfast-room one morning, "and pity me. I fell asleep at my prayers last night."

He also alludes to his continuous study of Scripture. He seems to have had a special reverence for Scott as a commentator. "Thomas Scott was a wonderful man, as wonderful in his way as Milton or Burke." He was a man

of immense moral as well as physical courage. In a righteous cause he feared the face of no man. The story is told that on one occasion at Government House the ladies and gentlemen had retired to the drawing-room, when a loud voice was heard crying, " Come back! come back!" It was the old Bishop, who in defiance of all etiquette reminded them that Grace had not been said. He was a man of unbounded liberality, as was seen not only in his princely gifts to the Church, but in numerous ways in which he helped needy people. No one ever possessed a larger missionary spirit. Combined with all these excellent qualities, however, were certain peculiarities which as he grew older became marked features of his character. He used to say to young Chaplains, " Don't eat too much: don't stuff." " The most healthy complexion for India is that of a boiled chicken." Speaking of a missionary who had sought and obtained a Chaplaincy, he said, " Ah, he was a true missionary, perhaps there was not a better in India, but Satan and Eve had persuaded him to quit the work." On one occasion Mrs. Ellerton, an aged lady who lived with him, sent for him when very ill, to bid farewell, and to leave with him some instructions respecting her coffin. He promised compliance and then left her. During the night she rallied, and in the morning sent for him to countermand her directions. The Bishop informed her that it was too late for her to change. He had sent for the undertaker at once, as she wished, and the work was done! He was a man of immense strength of character, but one who could not brook opposition, and who found it most difficult to see any other point of view save his own. There were, however, many elements of real greatness about him, though he can hardly be regarded as a lovable character. During a long Episcopate of twenty-six years he accomplished great things for the Church in India which are of lasting value, and one can safely say that as a man of affairs and a driving force he has had no rival amongst those who came before or who have followed him.

CHAPTER XII

CHURCH LIFE IN MADRAS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Period.—England : Queen Anne ; the Three Georges. India : Growth of the British and Mahratta power ; Decline of the Mughal.

Books of Reference.—*The Church in Madras*, by the Rev. F. Penny ; Hough's *Christianity in India ; Encyclopædia Britannica.*

THE first forty-five years of the eighteenth century were comparatively peaceful, as far as Madras was concerned. The French and the English lived amicably side by side in their coast settlements, and that, in spite of the fact that the two countries at that period were hardly ever at peace in Europe. Human ambitions, however, have an unpleasant way of asserting themselves, and in the year 1745 it occurred to the distinguished Labourdonnais, French Governor of Mauritius, who in his youth had been in the French Navy, that it would be for the honour and glory of France to turn the English Company out of its comfortable settlement in Madras. Collecting a strong fleet, he easily evaded the British Admiral and attacked Madras. In spite of its elaborate fortifications, it offered but a poor resistance.

For nearly three years (1746–49) Madras remained in the hands of the French, and many of its most precious possessions found their way to the French settlement at Pondicherry. Then came the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, one of the terms of which was that Madras was to be restored to the English. On their return to it the Company found the settlement had been seriously damaged during the French occupation and that its fortifications had been reduced almost to ruins. So bitterly did the Directors of the East India Company resent the destruction of these fortifications, that later on, when fighting began afresh between the English and French, they laid it on their servants to lay waste the fortifications of the enemy whenever they had the opportunity—an injunction which was carried out only too faithfully, when Pondicherry fell into our hands. After the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle there was peace for a short time, but it was not destined to last. Blood had flowed on both sides and feelings of hatred and rivalry had arisen between the French and English in India, and though the two nations were at

DANIEL WILSON.

FIFTH BSHOP OF CALCUTTA

and

FIRST METROPOLITAN OF INDIA.

1832-1858.

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peace in Europe, they fought bitterly against one another in India for the next twelve years. It was a fight for supremacy, and it was a fight to the death.

Sometimes the rivals fought one another openly, and sometimes, espousing the cause of opposite Indian States, they fought one another in a roundabout fashion. Those were the days of Dupleix, a great political genius and empire-dreamer. Daring, unscrupulous, and intensely patriotic, for a time he carried everything before him, and, not unlike some others of his countrymen, finished his career in his native land—dishonoured and poor.

At this time India was full of French adventurers : French officers and soldiers were to be found in considerable numbers in the armies of the Nizam and of Hyder Ali, as well as amongst the armies of the Mahrattas. Fortunately for us, the same Providence which had given Dupleix to the French, had given to us Robert Clive, that indomitable genius to whom more than to any one else we owe our Empire in India. A young clerk in the Company, he was taken prisoner by the French when Madras fell into their hands, and was carried off to Pondicherry. From there he managed to escape with great difficulty, and from that time forward abandoned the pen for the sword. Speedily winning for himself reputation as a daring and resourceful soldier by the capture of Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic, he followed this up later on by the capture and destruction of Pondicherry. Called away to Bengal by Suraj-ud-Dowla's capture of Calcutta in 1756, he handed over the command in South India to his brilliant Lieutenant, Sir Eyre Coote, who carried on the struggle for three or four years longer, till he succeeded in practically annihilating the French Army under Count Lally at Wandewash. Peace was still far away, for after the French peril had passed there was almost constant war of a desperate nature with Hyder Ali and his son Tippoo, until the capture of their stronghold at Serangapatam by General Harris in 1793. Then and not till then was there peace in South India.

For fifty years from the year 1760, till early in the nineteenth century the Madras Presidency, as we now know it, was in the making. Previous to that the city of Madras, with Fort St. David at Cuddalore, was almost all that the British possessed in South India. Within this comparatively short period the huge territories we now hold passed into our hands as the result of stern fighting and diplomacy.

During this period too a great change, as might have been expected, came over life in Madras itself. Hitherto it had been a peaceful settlement of merchants, whose chief and almost absorbing interest had been in trade. From this time onward the settlement was turned into an armed camp. There were British troops of two kinds—the King's regiments lent to the Company, and the Company's own regiments. In addition to these British troops there were a not inconsiderable body of mercenary troops selected from Protestant countries—Hanoverians from Germany, Denmark, and Switzerland. The Swiss troops, it must be owned, did not turn out always satisfactory, as they had an inconvenient habit of deserting to the French when most wanted. This treachery eventually led the East India Company to abandon all recruitment in Switzerland.

It had taken a long time to convince the Directors in London that if they were to continue in India at all, they must be ready to fight for their rights with the sword. Hyder Ali and his son Tippoo were most bitterly hostile for racial as well as religious reasons, and more than once during that period their wild horsemen had ravaged the Carnatic right up to the gates of Madras.

It was in this stormy atmosphere that the work of the Church had to be carried on for nearly two generations. With the increase of British troops there was, of course, an increase in the number of English Chaplains ; and with the enlargement of our territories there was a considerable increase in Church buildings. The Lutheran missionaries, who were excellent linguists, were able to render great help in ministering to the foreign mercenaries.

During this period there was also a large increase of the Anglo-Indian or Eurasian population. The Directors of the Company, realising that the number of British soldiers in their armies had increased greatly, induced a number of young Englishwomen to go out to India with the pleasant prospect of finding husbands and homes. The way in which the British soldiers had to live, however, was so bad that many of these women refused to share their lot, preferring anything rather than life under such conditions. It is true that some of these women were quite unsuited to be the wives of such men, and as no suitable arrangement was made for their being looked after on arrival, the experiment was on the whole a bad failure. When one remembers, however, that no barracks

were built for English soldiers till the year 1805, and that they had to live either in miserable quarters under the Fort walls of Madras, with bad sanitation and great heat and discomfort, or else to find quarters in the native bazaars, we cannot altogether wonder that not a few of these English-women declined the honour of being their wives ! The result of this failure was that the majority of British soldiers at that time had to find their wives amongst the women of India. Many of them married Indian wives and brought their Indian wives and children to baptism. At the present time at least 40 per cent. of the Eurasians in India are to be found in Madras and South India, and it is to this period that can be mainly traced the large increase in numbers of this community in that part of India. It is an interesting fact that, while the sons of these marriages (between British soldiers and Indian women) were debarred from all higher social and professional privileges, when their daughters married Europeans, their children were allowed to hold commissions in the army and other positions of responsibility.

As in Calcutta, so in Madras, every care was taken to provide schools for the Anglo-Indian children. Special schools called Military Asylum Schools were started for boys and girls, and were placed under the care of the Chaplains.

In one of the most interesting chapters of his *Church in Madras*, entitled " Men and Manners," Penny discusses the question of the general tone of English society during that period. He combats strongly the idea that the English men and women of this time east of Suez had lost all those finer moral and spiritual qualities which have deservedly won respect and admiration for the English character in other parts of the world. He traces the tendency to regard them as godless and bad to more than one source. Some of the extreme Evangelicals in India of those days, men like Hough, Martyn, and Kerr, were in the habit of speaking with undue severity of the depravity of English society. They were equally inclined to speak in an extreme way of their own depravity, when it was quite apparent they were excellent persons.

Penny also traces a great deal of this exaggerated and untrue view of English society in India to the slanders of Alexander Hamilton, that well-known Interloper, who was never tired of saying unpleasant things of the East India Company and its servants. In his opinion the bulk of the merchants were honest, straightforward men, who worked

hard for their living and who showed great kindliness to the people amongst whom they lived. Society in Madras at that time was, in his opinion, on a higher level than that of Calcutta, which he attributes to the fact that Madras was better supplied with Churches and Chaplains than Bengal. He believes, too, that the devotion of the Lutheran missionaries and their ministrations had a considerable effect for good on many. Even in those early days he thinks that Government House was beginning to exercise an uplifting influence on Madras society.

Certainly Penny has placed the Church in India under a lasting debt of gratitude for the information he has brought to light about the English Chaplains in India. There was a time not so long ago when people believed that the bulk of them were men who were hardly respectable, and who certainly were not wanted in their own country. Penny has taken immense pains to find out all that can be known of these Clergymen, and he gives us the results of his research in a simple and convincing manner. It is evident the East India Company did its best to select the best priests it could for its work abroad. Naturally there were many Clergymen, then as now, who shrank from the risks of climate and separation from home, but let us be thankful there were others quite ready to face these risks for the work of the Church overseas. Of the fifty-seven Chaplains of this period, nearly all were University men from Oxford, Cambridge, or Dublin. Six of them were Fellows of their Colleges, and many of them had graduated with honours. One of their number, Hough, was a historian; another of their number, Trevor, was a distinguished Christian Apologist. Dr. Andrew Bell was regarded, both in India and in England, as one of the greatest educationists of the day. His books, entitled *An Experiment in Education* and *The Wrongs of Children*, were widely read both in England and America, and the system of teaching which he evolved after carefully examining the village schools in South India, lies at the root of the pupil-teacher system of to-day. During his lifetime he established and endowed a Bell Lectureship at Edinburgh in connection with the Theological Institution of the Episcopal Church of Scotland. He also gave £120,000 to found a College at St. Andrews, where he was born and educated. He was finally appointed to a Canonry in Westminster Abbey, where after his death a tablet was placed in his honour. The inscription on the tablet is as follows :—

"Andrew Bell, D.D., LL.D.,
Prebendary of this Collegiate Church.
The eminent founder of the Madras system of education,
Who discovered and reduced to successful practice
The plan of mutual instruction
Founded upon the multiplication of power and division of labour
In the moral and intellectual world,
Which has been adopted within the British Empire
As the National System of Education
of the children of the poor
In the principles of the Established Church.
Dr. Bell was born in the City of St. Andrews, N.B., 27 March 1753,
Appointed Minister of St. Mary's Church, Madras, 1789,
Master of Sherborne Hospital 1809,
Prebendary of Westminster 1818:
Died 27 Jan. 1832."

The devotion of another Chaplain, the Rev. R. Leslie, "their revered and beloved Pastor," was so deeply appreciated that on his death the congregation of St. Mary's, Madras erected a Flaxman monument to his memory.

Of the strange career of one of the Chaplains of this period a few concluding words may well be said. The Rev. Robert Palk came out to India for the first time as a Chaplain on Admiral Boscawen's fleet. He was then only in Deacon's Orders. His was not the only case of Clergymen in Deacon's Orders being sent abroad, where it was almost certain they would be called upon to undertake at times the functions of the priesthood, such as the celebration of the Holy Communion and Marriage. If Englishmen in India were ready to receive the ministrations of men in Lutheran Orders, they were apparently equally ready to receive the ministrations of Deacons of their own Church, even when these Deacons usurped functions beyond their direct commission. Some of us need to be reminded that we are dealing with the period long before the Oxford Movement, and are also speaking of religious work in a country where there were no Bishops to check such irregularities.

About the time of Palk's arrival the Chaplain in charge of Fort St. David was suspended for insulting Clive. Palk, who had often been on shore, had so charmed the Governor of Madras and his Council that they persuaded the Admiral to allow him to leave his ship and fill the vacant Chaplaincy. For nearly fifteen years Palk did his work as Chaplain to the satisfaction of every one. He was a man of great tact and with remarkable gifts of diplomacy. Frequently, when the

Governor had some delicate bit of work to be done in connection with trading and political missions to the surrounding Native States, he was in the habit of asking Palk to take part in it. Over and over again Palk proved his value on these occasions, till at length after one successful bit of diplomacy he was presented by the Governor in Council with a magnificent diamond ring. When this matter was brought to the notice of the Directors in London, they commented severely on it. They failed to understand how a Chaplain could be employed in work like this, and were more than surprised that he should have been given such a large and handsome gift. They intimated that he must for the future confine himself to Church work. Palk's feelings were deeply hurt by their remarks, and he at once demanded that he be allowed to go home and appear before his detractors. The result of his interview with them was certainly remarkable. No longer censured, he was invited by the Directors to return to India as Chief Purchaser in their settlement at Madras.

Those were troublous days, as we have already seen, and on more than one occasion Palk was asked to accompany his friend Sir Stringer Lawrence, "Father of the Indian Army" and then Commander-in-Chief of the Madras army, on certain military expeditions, not only as a Chaplain but as Paymaster of the Army. The upshot of it all was that this remarkable Chaplain finished his career as Governor of Madras, a position which he held for a good many years. During his period as Governor the passage which divides India from Ceylon was carefully surveyed and named after him. He retired to England having amassed a large fortune, and sat in Parliament as member for a Devonshire constituency. He himself was made a Baronet, and his son, who married Sir Stringer Lawrence's daughter, was raised to the Peerage as Baron Haddan.

Of other Chaplains we could tell a good deal did space permit. We could tell of Austin Keating, a brilliant preacher, of John Kerr, Marmaduke Thomson, Millingchamp, all men of great power and devotion. Doubtless there were then, as now, some who failed to present the full beauty of a Christian life before the people committed to their charge, but these were certainly the exception, and it would be unfair to allow ourselves to think that this large body of 57 Chaplains, 22 of whom died in India, were not on the whole worthy citizens and good ministers of the Church of God.

CHAPTER XIII

THE DIOCESE OF MADRAS, 1835

BISHOPS

1. DANIEL CORRIE, consecrated 1835; died 1837.
2. GEORGE JOHN TREVOR SPENCER, consecrated 1837; resigned 1849; died 1866.
3. THOMAS DEALTRY, consecrated 1849; died 1861.
4. FREDERICK GELL, consecrated 1861; resigned 1898; died 1902.
5. HENRY WHITEHEAD, consecrated 1899; retired 1922.
6. EDWARD HARRY WALLER, consecrated 1915; translated to Madras 1923.

BOOKS OF REFERENCE.—*The Church in Madras*, by the Rev. Frank Penny, vol. iii.; *Memorials of Bishop Gell.*

FOR some years before the Consecration of Daniel Corrie, the first Bishop of Madras, a Diocesan feeling had been steadily growing in South India, largely through the influence of a succession of able Archdeacons. It was a far cry from Calcutta to Madras in those days, and as the Archdeacons of Madras were Commissaries of the Bishop of Calcutta and did a good deal of visitation work, their influence tended to prepare the way for the coming Bishop. The first Archdeacon of Madras to be appointed under the same Statute which had created the Bishopric of Calcutta in 1815 was the Rev. John Moulsey, formerly a Fellow of Balliol. On his death four years later, Edward Vaughan was appointed to succeed him. When he retired nine years later, he was in turn succeeded by the Rev. Thomas Robinson, who had been Chaplain to Bishop Heber and an intimate friend of that great Bishop. Thomas Robinson was a man of considerable force of character and a fine scholar, and it was thought at the time that he would certainly be appointed the first Bishop of Madras.

Bishop Corrie's brief Episcopate of a year and a half was crowded with work. Coming to Madras with a big reputation, he was given the most hearty welcome on all sides. A Madras lady writing home about him said: "Bishop Corrie called on us the other day, to my great delight; for I had so long

revered his character, that it was a very great pleasure to me to make acquaintance with him. He is a most noble-looking old man, with a very fine countenance and a gentle benevolent manner, a pattern for a Bishop in appearance as well as everything else."

Hardly had he finished inspecting the Church schools and other work in Madras, when he was summoned away to Tanjore and Palamcottah, to try to settle some serious disputes.

The Church in Tinnevelly was at this time suffering from divisions caused mainly by the defection of the Rev. C. T. E. Rhenius from the Church of England. Originally a Lutheran and a man of much personal devotion, he had been ordained in the Church of England, and had worked for many years in the C.M.S., 1814–35. In later life influences antagonistic to the Church of England had been too much for him, and he had even begun to ordain and confirm people himself. When dismissed from the C.M.S. he drew away with him a large number of his converts. At Palamcottah Bishop Corrie found that a bitter controversy was raging between his converts and our Church of England people. The Bishop traced it largely to unsatisfactory Catechists on both sides, who had been left too much to themselves. Shortly after this Rhenius died, when many of his converts returned to the Church.

The Tanjore Christians were apparently anxious for Bishop Corrie to relax the strict rules laid down by Bishop Wilson about caste, but after looking into the matter he was unwilling to do so. He was especially strong on the point that no caste could be allowed at the Holy Communion. In his diary he writes as follows : " The point I stood upon was the duty of attending the Lord's Supper without regard to who else might be present. . . . We are to think at that time only of the Saviour. . . . If we refuse to receive the Sacrament because another has partaken before us, we lose sight of the Saviour."

Bishop Corrie held his first and only Visitation at St. George's Cathedral at the end of August 1836. It gives one some idea of the difficulties of travel in those days, when one reflects that of forty-two clergy summoned to his Visitation twenty-nine had to be excused attendance !

About this time a decidedly unpleasant duty was forced on the Bishop connected with a custom then prevalent in India,

which required the compulsory attendance of English officers and officials at heathen festivals. It had been a custom from early days for the English civil Magistrate to attend these heathen festivals, sometimes with armed police for the preservation of peace. Then when this was no longer needed they were supposed to attend as a matter of courtesy. On certain occasions the troops were even turned out to fire salutes. Many of the English officials in Madras strongly resented having to attend these heathen festivals, and organised a petition to Government to relieve them of what was to them a tedious and unpleasant duty. The Bishop was asked by them to present the petition. This he did and was treated with quite unexpected discourtesy by the then Governor of Madras. Later on the matter was settled satisfactorily by the Governor-General. Possibly this custom might have continued a good deal longer, in spite of the disapproval of the Directors in London, had not Sir Peregrine Maitland, Commander-in-Chief in Madras, resented so strongly the punishment inflicted on a drummer-boy who refused to beat his drum at an idol procession, that he sent in his resignation. Then at length the authorities were compelled to act and the custom was abolished.

Bishop Corrie was succeeded by George John Trevor Spencer, a man in most respects quite unlike him. The great-grandson of the third Duke of Marlborough, he had held charges in England of no particular importance, with the exception of a few years as Vicar of Buxton, when he was appointed to the vacant See of Madras. He was consecrated at Fulham, and arrived in Madras in November 1838.

At that time the Church in India was experiencing considerable difficulty in getting English Clergy to come abroad either as Chaplains or as missionaries. For this reason Bishop Corrie and Archdeacon Robinson had been strongly in favour of a Eurasian ministry ; and with this end in view had sent to Bishop's College, Calcutta, a number of promising young Eurasians. Bishop Spencer seems to have wholeheartedly adopted their policy. During his nine years' Episcopate he held no less than twenty-three Ordination Services, and ordained thirty-four candidates of whom quite a number were Eurasians.

Bishop Spencer had not long been in the Diocese when it became clear to every one that he was more interested in the missionary side of things than in work amongst his fellow-

countrymen and Anglo-Indians. Doubtless the vision of a great Indian Church, at a time when missionary work was going forward by leaps and bounds, was in part responsible for this. It gives one an idea of the way in which Christian converts were increasing in numbers during this period, when one reads that during one of his Visitation tours he confirmed 3308 Indian converts.

He was a High Churchman of the old school, who thought less of ritual than he did of doctrine.

"I have little sympathy with the fashionable religion of the day, which seems to me . . . to substitute feeling and much speaking for deep, quiet, unobtrusive, practical, self-judging faith, insisted upon by the Catholic Church of all ages, and once her universally recognised characteristic."

The fact that he insisted on the observance of Holy Days and especially of All Saints' Day, made many regard him as a High Churchman.

No one can read Penny's *Church in Madras* with its admirable photographs without being struck with the many handsome Churches which were erected during his Episcopate and that of his successor. The East India Company appears to have changed its original attitude towards Church-building a good deal as years went on. At the start they had taken up the attitude that if their servants in India wanted Churches they might build them for themselves. Then when the number of British troops in their service multiplied they felt bound to supply them with Churches as well as Chaplains free of cost. Later on they adopted the attitude of co-operating with the Church authorities in Church-building by giving substantial grants of money in proportion to the size of the Church and the amount privately subscribed.

It is clear from Penny that Bishop Spencer, who had spent all his life in England, resented a good deal the limitations of officialdom when he came to India, and was in this respect unlike either Bishop Corrie or Bishop Dealtry, who had served long apprenticeships in India. Bishop Spencer was a man of a rather imperious nature, reserved and autocratic, and on more than one occasion found himself in direct opposition to his Chaplains and his Archdeacon. On the other hand, he was immensely popular with the missionaries, and seems to have understood and sympathised with them in a quite remarkable manner.

One action taken by him has been rather severely

criticised. Shortly after his arrival in India, he discovered that in many up-country stations the rites of baptism, marriage, and burial were being performed by civil and military officers in the absence of the Chaplain. With a view to putting an end to this system, he submitted the case to the Directors of the East India Company through the Madras Government, and asked that a legal opinion be obtained as to whether such marriages were legal. An opinion was given by four eminent lawyers that they were not. It is now fairly certain that the opinion of these distinguished lawyers was incorrect. The East India Company had large powers conferred on it by charter, and it would seem that amongst these powers was that of legalising marriages when the legalising means which existed in England were out of reach in India. These powers were, when necessary, delegated to the civil and military officers of the Company, who in turn reported to Government what they did. The Local Governments in India were of opinion, and most people would agree with them, that it was better for public morality that the leading civil and military officers should have the power of uniting persons in marriages, especially in out-of-the-way stations, when the number of Clergy in the country was so small that they could not always be there to perform the ceremony. As large numbers of the best people in India in those days had been married in this way, the decision of the four eminent lawyers brought about by Bishop Spencer's action was resented deeply, as it seemed to cast a doubt on the regularity of the marriages of people who had been living together for years as man and wife.

The immediate result, however, was one which Bishop Spencer could not have anticipated, as it led to the establishment, in 1842, of civil registrars in every district, with power to conduct civil marriages. Formerly the English officials or military officers who performed the ceremony had always used a religious service, whereas, under the Act of 1842, this was no longer necessary.

Bishop Spencer was invalided home in April 1847, and resigned his Bishopric in the following year. He was succeeded by Thomas Dealtry, who had been in India for about twenty years as Chaplain of the East India Company. He had been appointed Archdeacon of Calcutta by Bishop Wilson, and was well known in Calcutta as a leading Evangelical preacher. His long experiences in India had made him

understand, in a way which Bishop Spencer never did, how best to deal with Government.

Certain questions connected with the burial of suicides and of Roman Catholic soldiers who had been refused burial by their own Clergy came up at this period. There were certain Chaplains who strongly objected to being asked to bury either of these unfortunate classes of people. Bishop Dealtry seems to have taken a broad and sympathetic attitude in this matter. He pointed out that Chaplains were constantly officiating at the burial of persons who had wandered out of the narrow way, and he could see no reason to make exception against those erring Christians of the Roman obedience who had been baptised in the Name of Christ. He preferred that the Clergy of his diocese should be kind and charitable in their action rather than stiff and censorious.

His experience as Archdeacon of Calcutta stood him in good stead during his Episcopate. Though a missionary-minded man, he was keenly interested in the work amongst the British and Anglo-Indians. Like his predecessor, he himself sent a number of Anglo-Indians to Bishop's College, Calcutta, for training as missionaries as well as Chaplains.

When he first came to Madras in 1850, there were 97 clergymen in the diocese, of whom 29 were Chaplains. At the time of his death, eleven years later, there were no less than 151 ordained clergy in the diocese, of whom 35 were Chaplains. Bishop Dealtry was a man of sound common sense, with considerable administrative ability. Though neither a scholar nor a theologian, he was a man of intellectual gifts, as is clear from the fact that he took a degree at Cambridge with first-class honours in the Law Schools. Always a keen Evangelical, he was a broad-minded man and most tolerant. He was a man with many friends and admirers in the Madras Diocese, and at his death a beautiful monument was erected in the Cathedral in his memory. On his tomb in the Cathedral burial-ground it is recorded that "He laboured in India with singular fidelity and inspiring devotion for more than thirty years."

Bishop Dealtry was succeeded by one who was destined to be Bishop of Madras for no less than thirty-eight years. Frederick Gell had been educated at Rugby when Dr. Arnold was master, and from Rugby had gone to Cambridge, where, in the year 1843, he was appointed Fellow and Tutor of Christ's College, Cambridge. After holding one or two

livings in England, and having acted as Domestic Chaplain for a time to Archbishop Tait, he was called to the See of Madras at the age of forty.

Shortly before his arrival in India, he received an interesting letter from Bishop Cotton, referring to his future work. It is interesting to note that Bishop Cotton clearly thought that the attractions of Ootacamund had been too much for Bishop Dealtry, and that in his opinion " he was too little at Madras." It is also clear that Bishop Cotton thought that Bishop Dealtry ought not to have appointed his son, who was only an assistant Chaplain, to the vacant Archdeaconry. It is interesting, however, to know that Bishop Gell did not cancel this appointment, and that the youthful Archdeacon, by his ability and charm, gradually won all hearts.

When Bishop Gell arrived in Madras in 1861, there were 39,938 baptised Anglicans ; when he retired thirty-eight years later, there were 122,371. When he started his Epsicopal career the Indian Clergy numbered 27 ; when he finished it, they numbered 154.

Bishop Gell never married. He seems to have taken Bishop Cotton's remarks about his predecessor seriously, and he spent but little time in the hills. During the early part of his Episcopate he was constantly touring through every part of his vast diocese. We must remember that at that time the Madras Diocese included what are now the Dioceses of Tinnevelly and Dornakal, as well as the Berars (now part of the Nagpur Diocese).

In one of his Pastoral letters Bishop Gell urged the European community to vigorous missionary effort and enterprise. This advice was taken hold of by the then Governor of Madras, Lord Hobart, who considered that it contravened the terms of the Queen's Proclamation, and even hinted that the Government might have to interfere. Bishop Gell's reply was both dignified and firm. It put the matter on the right basis, and further discussion ceased :—

" I am much obliged to your Lordship for telling me of the light in which my Pastoral is regarded by the Government. I have not understood that religious enlightenment and persuasion are forbidden by any Order, but only interference with any one in the exercise of his religion, favouring or disfavouring on account of it, the use of official power to turn a man from his religion, and similar acts. It is known quite well that we object to such action as strongly as

possible, and there is no appearance of anything of the kind in the Pastoral.

" But we do think that all Christians, knowing that every Mahomedan and every Hindu was created by Christ, is preserved alive by Him every day, will be judged by Him, and may find pardon and salvation in Him, should use as he has opportunity, and discreetly, not offensively, the instruments of enlightenment and persuasion, not force, to make them willing partakers of this wonderful knowledge and all its blessings."

Perhaps the most important act in Bishop Gell's Episcopate was the Consecration, in 1876, of two missionary Bishops to assist him in the work of his diocese. There were in the Madras Diocese, especially in its southern parts, powerful S.P.G. and C.M.S. Missions. Bishop Gell saw that it was quite impossible for him to give these missions and their converts such an amount of attention as they required. He was peculiarly unwilling to have his diocese divided, and eventually persuaded the Archbishop of Canterbury to accept the principle of having one Bishop for the C.M.S. and one for the S.P.G. That the arrangement worked admirably for some years was entirely owing to his wise selection of two admirable missionaries: Sargent of the C.M.S., and Caldwell of the S.P.G., to whom we have referred somewhat fully elsewhere.

While there were not a few who felt that Bishop Gell ought to have retired at least ten years before he did (he was in his eightieth year when he resigned), no one ever doubted the immense influence he exercised by his devoted and holy life. It has been given to few to win the love of a diocese as was given to this tender-hearted and self-sacrificing old man.

Bishop Gell was in due course succeeded by Henry Whitehead, who like him was to enjoy the privilege of a long Episcopate. Henry Whitehead, after a distinguished University career, had been elected to a Fellowship at Trinity College, Oxford. Then came his " Call " to foreign mission work as Principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta. While Principal of this College events occurred in the history of the Oxford Mission to Calcutta which led to his being asked to become its Superior. Those who remember him in his Calcutta days will remember how immensely popular he was in Calcutta, both with Indians and with his fellow-countrymen. In spite of his many activities as Principal of Bishop's

College and Superior of the Oxford Mission, he found time occasionally to distinguish himself on the cricket field, which added considerably to his influence in English society.

It is not for us to do more than briefly allude to the great work which he did for twenty years as Bishop of Madras. Those who knew him best used often to smile at the manner in which Madras and its problems, especially the Mass Movement problems, had so possessed his heart and imagination as to make him almost forget his Calcutta days and the needs of other places. Perhaps his greatest work while Bishop of Madras was the bringing into existence the Dornakal Diocese, which is now the seat of such remarkable spiritual activities.

There is a book with a red cover which every Chaplain and missionary in India knows full well, I mean the too little-valued Indian Church Directory ; and if one wants to know in detail the multifarious spiritual activities which are going on in any of our thirteen Indian Dioceses, the simple thing is to turn to it. And when we do so, we find that practically all the branches of work which are being carried on in the other large dioceses are being carried on just as fully in the benighted Presidency.

There is, in the first place, a big work which is being done for the Anglo-Indian community. Madras has from the first been really keen about the education of these people. In the earliest days of the East India Company it had its military and civil schools for boys and girls, popularly but unfortunately called Asylums. Then there is the Bishop Corrie High School, the oldest educational institution in Madras, with which is now amalgamated the Bishop Gell Girls' School. In this mixed school where boys and girls are taught together, there are no less than two hundred children on the rolls, of whom one hundred and twenty are boys and eighty are girls. Madras also has its so-called Charitable School of St. Mary's in the Fort, cared for by the Chaplain in Black Town. At Bangalore there is the Bishop Cotton Boys' School, one of the best schools of its kind in the East, and also the Bishop Cotton School for girls. The Sisters of the Church, better known as the Kilburn Sisters, are doing great educational work amongst the better classes of European and Anglo-Indian girls at the Madras Collegiate School, Vepery, and at St. Hilda's, Ootacamund.

Madras has from the first been a pioneer in missionary work. Its chief missionary centres (now that it has been

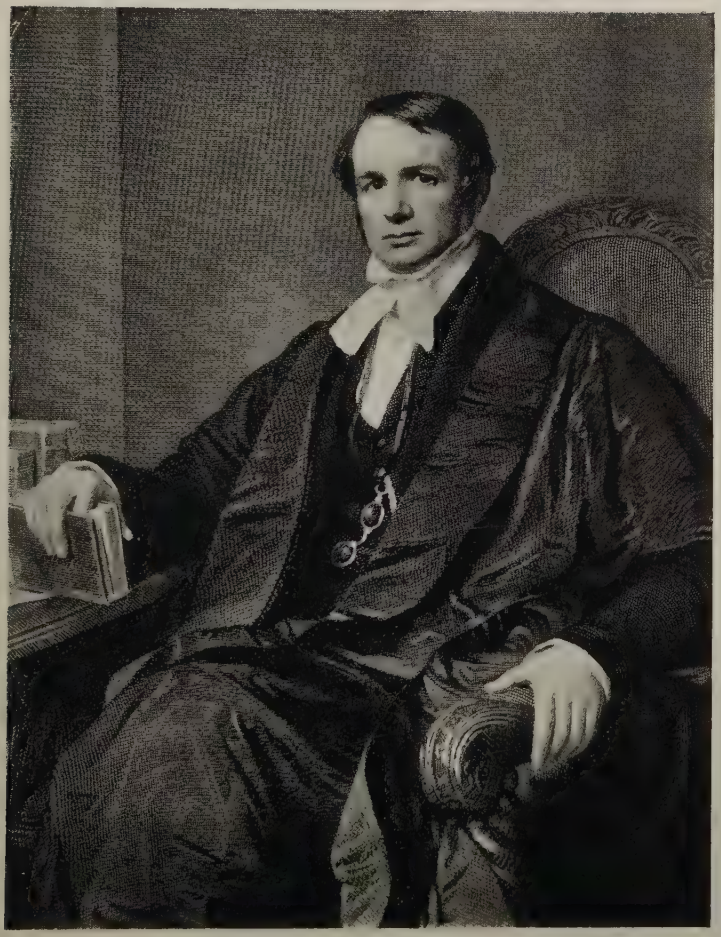
shorn of the Dioceses of Tinnevelly and Dornakal) are Madras City itself, Trichinopoly, Tanjore, Secunderabad, Cuddalore, Bangalore, Mysore City, and Ootacamund.

At Trichinopoly there is, in the words of the present Bishop, "the Heber College with a fairly vigorous work in the surrounding villages." At Tanjore there is a large Christian congregation, and a certain amount of vigorous effort at Kumbaconum. There are important Christian congregations at Negapatam and Cuddalore; Bangalore has a congregation of S.P.G. Christians, as well as a Hindustani congregation connected with the C.M.S. It also has work in certain out-stations. The C.M.S. have a vigorous work in the Nilgiris, Ootacamund, Coonoor, Katagiri and the Nilgiri Wynaad. If it is true that in most of the missions both S.P.G. and C.M.S. there have been gathered together large congregations of Christians in the past, the present Bishop of Madras feels that there is an immense work to be done in arousing these older Christian congregations to real evangelical activity. Unlike most of the other Indian Dioceses, the number of Christians is very great and their standard of education stands quite high.

Of one or two special pieces of work one would like to speak briefly. There is at Bangalore a Diocesan Settlement and Self-help Society established by the last Bishop of Madras for work amongst the Anglo-Indians. Over a hundred poor women are supported in it by needlework, which includes plain work, embroidery, drawn-thread and crochet. These industries are under the general care of St. John's Chaplaincy. In aditidon to this needlework industry, a certain amount of parochial work is done by the Lady Superintendent, including the holding of Bible-classes and visiting a Hospital. There is also a Girls' Club, and Library in connection with the Society.

Nowhere in India is the number of poor Anglo-Indians greater than it is in Madras. In 1914 Bishop Whitehead started the Society of St. Faith for work amongst this community. This Society is fortunate in possessing two deaconesses, of whom the head deaconess is Miss Creighton, a daughter of the late distinguished Bishop of London. They are engaged in all kinds of work for the uplift of this community, and one hopes that the example they have set in this direction may lead to the development of the work of deaconesses in all the larger centres of English life in India.

One must not forget that while the Church in Madras is



GEORGE EDWARD LYNCH COTTON.

SIXTH BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

1858-1867.

P. 200.

doing a great work in the education of the Anglo-Indian and the Indian Christian communities, the military authorities in South India have not forgotten the children of the British soldier who lives and it may be dies in India. If in North India such children are cared for in the famous Lawrence Schools in Sanawar and Murree, the Madras Presidency has got at Lovedale in the Nilgiri Hills a Lawrence Memorial School, which has within its walls no less than 465 of these children; of whom 300 are boys and 165 are girls. The school teaches up to the High School standard, and many of its boys, after completing their school education, enlist in British regiments and the Royal Artillery. Boys are prepared for entrance to the Indian Medical Department, police and railway services, and there is a telegraph class in connection with the Telegraph Department attached to the school.

We are fully conscious that in our description of the Madras Diocese far too little has been said of the great and silent work which has been done and is being done by its large body of Government and A.C.S. Chaplains. In the earlier days of the East India Company, when we were fighting hard for the mastery with Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sahib, there were more British soldiers in South India than in any other part of the country. During this period military stations grew up all over what is now the Madras Diocese, and the number of Chaplains to care for them was largely increased. The Madras Diocese of those days, from a military point of view, was very much what the Lahore Diocese is to-day. Now things are changed, and with the exception of big Cantonments at Secunderabad, Bangalore, Wellington, and Madras, together with a few other small military stations, Madras has perhaps fewer soldiers than even the Diocese of Lucknow or Nagpur. There is, however, excellent work being done for the soldiers in our Institutes at Secunderabad, Bangalore, and Madras.

We have more than once referred to the way in which Mr. Penny, in his *Church in Madras*, has removed misconceptions and ungrounded prejudices regarding the old East India Company and its Chaplains. It is interesting to note that in the third and last volume of his work, which deals with the early days of the Madras Diocese, he lets us see that the standard of Chaplains still continued at a high level, and that for reasons which are now forgotten, quite a number of them were from the University of Dublin.

CHAPTER XIV

THE DIOCESE OF BOMBAY, 1837

BISHOPS

1. THOMAS CARR, consecrated 1837; resigned 1851.
2. JOHN HARDING, consecrated 1851; resigned 1868; died 1874.
3. HENRY ALEXANDER DOUGLAS, consecrated 1868; died 1876.
4. LOUIS GEORGE MYLNE, consecrated 1876; resigned 1898.
5. JAMES MACARTHUR, consecrated 1898; resigned 1903.
6. WALTER RUTHVEN PYM, consecrated Bishop of Mauritius 1893; transferred 1903; died 1908.
7. EDWIN JAMES PALMER, consecrated 1908.

BOOKS OF REFERENCE.—Rev. E. E. Hill's *History of the Chaplains' Department in Western India*; Father Elwin's *Thirty-four Years in Poona City*; Father Elwin's *Thirty-nine Years in Bombay*; Father Elwin's *India and the Indians*; *Digest of S.P.G.*; Eugene Stock's *History of the Church Missionary Society*.

OUR knowledge of the early history of the Bombay Diocese is unfortunately very limited. In a little book called *The Chaplains' Department in Western India*, the Rev. E. E. Hill has told us just enough to make it clear that Bombay needs some one who has plenty of time and the necessary gifts to work up its old records. It is to be regretted, too, that no memoirs were ever written of any of the first six Bishops of Bombay. A glimpse of the diary of Bishop Douglas certainly makes one wish that some memoir had been written of him.

One welcomes, therefore, all the more the delightful description of the Diocese of Bombay as it now is, which the present Bishop has given us.

"Coming from England you arrive at Bombay, a city of very nearly a million inhabitants crowded on an island; its harbour rivalling in beauty the Bay of Naples, its atmosphere resembling the fern house in Kew Gardens, its factories pouring smoke over the whole, reminding one of Manchester. The problems of the industrial revolution repeat themselves in Bombay, and its lessons are very little heeded. Tides of unskilled labour flow into the city from the uplands and

the lowlands and ebb back to their ancestral fields. The men and women of the Deccan uplands perish by hundreds from the unaccustomed climate and insanitary conditions of Bombay. Many of our Christians from the Deccan come here for work in ordinary times—very huge numbers in famine times—and the difficult duty devolves on our Clergy and other workers of finding these poor people and keeping them from harm and temptation. The factories and mills are many of them under English superintendence, mainly from Lancashire. Then the banks and mercantile houses bring many Scotsmen and Englishmen into Bombay. The ocean-going steamers bring sailors to the port. The British Army is represented in the garrison. British Administration is represented in the Headquarters of the Government and in the High Court. Go to the centre of the town, and you will find the resident Anglo-Indian population, filling honourably subordinate posts or struggling with poverty in slums more sordid than those of London. Then imagine the great Indian population of every creed and caste, and the foreign colonies of Japanese, Chinese, Africans, Arabs, and Mesopotamian Jews. Surely a unique city.

"Now take a train, travel a little over one hundred miles, ascending two thousand feet to the Deccan plateau. The scene, the climate, the people, the conditions, are all changed. The air is dry, the nights cool at any time of the year: the temperature never above 109°. But this is not the greatest difference. We have passed into the old India of the village life, hardly changed through the centuries, except that the village walls are crumbling away, for they are unneeded in the British peace. It is a country of farmers, and it is from this class that the famous Mahratta troops were drawn which distinguished themselves as much as any troops in the Great War. Yet it is no fertile land which they farm. Through the north-east portion of it runs the strip of country which forms the extreme limit of the influence of the South-west and of the North-east monsoons, and it is not infrequently missed by both. This is the cause of the frequent famines in the Ahmednagar district. The two years, 1920 and 1921, both brought complete famine to that district, and the next year was but little better. In this district Christianity has made great progress, chiefly among the outcastes. Some 8000 of them belong to our Church. No one who has not seen it can imagine the

effect which is produced upon a class of men by being considered and treated as lower than beasts for hundreds of years. From this abysmal darkness in which Hinduism plunged them and kept them, Christianity is gradually raising them.

"From Poona, the capital of the Bombay Deccan, we travel south for two or three hundred miles, and reach a softer, more fertile country, and find in it a quite different race, the Canarese, a Dravidian stock, akin to the Tamils and Telugus of South India. In the midst of this country is Hubli, where is the Criminal Tribes Settlement, which will be mentioned presently.

"The Cantonments of Poona, Kirkee, Ahmednagar, Deolali, and Belgaum are situated on this Deccan plateau.

"Bombay Presidency is a strategic point in several ways. Most people know the names of Gokhale, Tilak, and Gandhi. They were all born in this Presidency, and most of their life's work was done here. The two first-named belong to a small sub-caste of Brahmans, the Chitpavans, which can fairly claim to have produced, in proportion to its numbers, more able men than any other community in India. Mr. Paranjpye, a former Wrangler, now Minister of Education in the Bombay Government, belongs to the same community. Mr. Gandhi belongs by birth to the merchants of Gujerat. Progress and revolution have their cradles in this Presidency. Mr. Gokhale's Society, the Servants of India, a company of men who bound themselves together to educate their contrymen, and never to take more than the barest subsistence salary, is a standing witness to India of patriotic self-sacrifice applied to modern conditions. All this exemplifies the spiritual importance of Bombay.

"But the races which are domiciled here with their variety and far-reaching connections make another of its claims to consideration. The main languages are Marathi and Gujerati. The Mahrattas, said to be originally Scythians, distinguished themselves by the obdurate and at last successful resistance to the great Mahomedan Emperors, of which the heroic name was Sivaji, a contemporary of Oliver Cromwell. In the next century they overran a great part of India and sacked Delhi. Under the century of British rule which followed 1818, they turned their extraordinary tenacity and perseverance into a struggle with the poor soil of this often famine-stricken land. Then in the Great

War they emerged as among the best of all the troops who sailed from India. Last November they gave the Prince of Wales a cordial and genuine welcome when he laid the foundation-stone of the Sivaji Memorial at Poona. These slow, sturdy, persevering farmers are the backbone of the Presidency. They have a literature of which they may well be proud. English readers have lately had offered them a taste of that literature in Dr. McNicol's *Hymns of the Maratha Saints*. On the other side is the Gujerati people, rich and prosperous : great traders, who have penetrated even into East Africa. Their title to fame is that they have kept alive the reform of Hinduism called Jainism, while its contemporary and more famous reform, Buddhism, has been driven out of the country. On the north of the diocese the Rajput races link us with the languages and the martial spirit of Northern India. On the south of the diocese the Canarese are Dravidians, and in language and race are kindred to the Tamils and Telugus. In Bombay and Southern Gujerat is the Indian home of the Parsees. All these races are domiciled in the diocese. As for immigrants, they are innumerable. Thus Bombay is racially a centre of great importance.

"Yet another point which gives Bombay a central importance is its trade. This is not in the hands of one community. There are millionaires among the Parsees, Mahomedans, Hindus, and Jews. There are great English and Scottish and Greek firms taking part in it. The large mill area of Bombay raises anew all the problems of the industrial revolution, intensified by the constant coming and going of labour from and to the country districts. Gigantic hydro-electric schemes propose to create large industrial areas a little south of Bombay in a far more trying climate.

"To whatever side of human life one turns, one finds the Bombay Presidency making striking contributions to India. In matters intellectual and spiritual, in the politics whether of reform or of revolution, industrial progress and industrial difficulties, it can claim to have the leadership."

When we turn from this description of the Bombay Presidency and Diocese to its past history, we notice at once how closely the life of the diocese and that of the Presidency have run side by side. The first Archdeacon of Bombay was appointed just about the time when the

greater portion of the dominions of the Mahratta Peshwa passed into the hands of the British. The Bombay Presidency, as we now have it, reached its present size about the time of the appointment of the first Bishop of Bombay.

Barnes, the first Archdeacon of Bombay, was a man of great energy and earnestness. He had been a College friend of Bishop Heber. During his period no less than five Churches were built at Surat, Thana, Kaira, Poona, and Baroda : all of which were consecrated by his friend Bishop Heber during his visit to Bombay in 1824. Archdeacon Barnes was succeeded in the Archdeaconry by Thomas Carr, who in the year 1837 was consecrated first Bishop of Bombay. When he resigned, fourteen years later, he had served in India as Chaplain, Archdeacon, and Bishop for thirty-four years, and had only once visited England during that period, and that visit was for his Consecration. He must have been a fine-looking man, judging by his recumbent statue in Bombay Cathedral, and he certainly had a magnificent constitution. To have endured the Bombay climate for thirty-four years without any of the amenities of life, punkahs, ice and hill stations, which we now enjoy, was a rare thing in those bygone days. When Chaplain of Surat in his early days, he felt it his duty to report to Archdeacon Barnes a strange ceremony which he had witnessed, which certainly would not be tolerated to-day. The Archdeacon reported the matter to Government in the following letter :—

"Mr. Carr represents that the British residents at Surat are annually called on to join in certain religious ceremonies of the natives, which, at all times repugnant to the pious feelings of a Christian, when falling on a Sunday (as it did this year) necessarily compel them to violate the direct ordinances of the Christian Sabbath. . . . The festival to which he referred was Cocoanut Day, when it was the duty of the Chief of the Factory to throw the first cocoanut into the water. He was attended by the Magistrates, the Collector and other officers, and three salutes were fired by the artillery."

During Bishop Carr's Episcopate Churches were built at Kirkee, Ahmedabad, and Mahableshwar. When he resigned, in 1851, he was succeeded by the Rev. John Harding, who presided over the Diocese of Bombay for seventeen years. During his time the Church of St. John the Evangelist at Colaba, better known as the Afghan Memorial Church, was

built and consecrated. It is one of the finest Churches in India, built of stone, Early English in style, with a tapering spire 210 feet high, which stands out splendidly as a landmark on the Colaba promontory. Bishop Harding was greatly interested in the Anglo-Indian community, and during his time a school for Anglo-Indian boys was started at Poona, which is still known as Bishop's School.

Probably the most missionary-minded of the early Bishops of Bombay was Henry Alexander Douglas. During his period and at his invitation the Fathers of St. John the Evangelist at Cowley were led to take up missionary work in the Bombay Diocese. The plans which he laid down for missionary work in the diocese make it clear that he was a man of statesmanlike vision. After a short Episcopate of eight years, which terminated with a fatal illness, he was succeeded by Louis George Mylne, whose Episcopate lasted twenty-one years in Bombay.

Bishop Mylne was considered a very able preacher and lecturer, and during his period the work of the diocese went forward steadily. Shortly after his arrival the Community of St. Mary the Virgin at Wantage, Berkshire, sent out a body of Sisters to assist in Church work at Poona. Within a year of their arrival, the Community of All Saints at St. Albans also sent out a somewhat similar number of Sisters to work in the city of Bombay itself. Both these Sisterhoods have now been working in India for over forty years and have everywhere won for themselves golden opinions. The Wantage Sisters are engaged in various kinds of work, educational and industrial, for the most part in Poona, and have charge of the nursing arrangements of the Sassoon Hospital in Poona. The All Saints' Sisters are responsible for the Cathedral School for Girls in Bombay, as well as for the nursing arrangements at the Jamsetji Hospital. They have also a delightful school for girls at Khandala on the Bombay Ghats. The Wantage Sisters have charge of the St. Mary's Home, Bangalore, where five Sisters are caring for rescue and preventive cases from all parts of India.

When Bishop Mylne retired he was succeeded by the Right Rev. James Macarthur, who presided over the See for a period of five years. On his resignation owing to ill health, he was appointed Bishop of Southampton, an Assistant-Bishop in the Diocese of Winchester. He was

succeeded by Bishop Pym, who had been consecrated Bishop of Mauritius a few years previously.. His Episcopate, like Bishop Macarthur's, lasted but for five years. The last few months of his life were clouded by severe domestic grief, coupled with a most unfortunate controversy with a section of his Clergy, on questions of ritual which compelled the Metropolitan of India to hold a Court of Inquiry, when the matters in dispute were fortunately settled. Both Bishop Macarthur and Bishop Pym had been excellent parish priests before they came to India, and had studied carefully the best methods of parochial work, so that although their Episcopates lasted but for a short time, they did a work for the Church, especially in Bombay City, which is of lasting value.

On the death of Bishop Pym, Edwin James Palmer, Fellow and Chaplain of Balliol College, Oxford, was appointed the seventh Bishop of Bombay. A man of fine scholarship and statesmanlike vision, he has, during the fifteen years of his Episcopate, brought forward the work of the Church in his diocese in a remarkable way. Largely through his initiative and ability, a system of Diocesan and Provincial Councils has been adopted by the Anglican Church in India.

Missionary work in the Bombay Diocese goes back to its earliest days as a diocese. The Church Missionary Society was the first of our Church Societies to enter this field, which they did in 1820. "In 1855 a remarkable memorial was sent to the Church Missionary Society, signed by the Bishop (John Harding), the Archdeacon, Admiral Sir Henry Leeke, Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Navy, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Bartle Frere, Commissioner of Sindh, six other high Government officials, ten less prominent officials, eleven merchants, and seven Chaplains."

This memorial said: "We plead on behalf of fifteen millions of the unevangelised natives of this land. . . . We grant that conversions are yet few; but the preparatory work is steadily advancing; inquiry spreads; missionaries are welcomed. Everything invites to fresh efforts. The Lord is assuredly calling us to preach the Gospel unto this people, and we venture therefore to add, in the language of urgent solicitation with the Society, 'Arise, for this matter belongeth unto thee, we also will be with thee; be of good courage, and do it.'"

Unfortunately, the Society were unable to respond to this touching appeal, and their Western India Mission, like

their Missions in the Central Provinces, have never been on the same scale as those in Northern and Southern India.

The chief centres of their work in the Bombay Diocese have been in Bombay City, at Nasik, Malegaon, Aurangabad, and Poona. To Canon Joshi we owe the following account of their past history: "Till the beginning of this century the main work of the Society in the city of Bombay was confined to education, the care of an English congregation, and pastoring the struggling Marathi congregation at Girgaum. A mission was carried on for several years among Mahomedans with varied success. By at least two devoted men efforts were made to reach Parsees and educated Hindus. The Robert Money School was founded in memory of a godly and well-respected civilian—Robert Money—and was placed under the Society's charge. A scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge, the Rev. G. M. Valentine, came out as its first Principal. Jerrom, Galbraith, Cars, Jackson, Bren, and others followed Valentine. The names of Cars and Jackson have been familiar with old students. The Rev. Jain Ali, who conducted a unique hostel for boys, was also associated with these two men in the conduct of the Money School. The late Rev. Sorabji was brought to Christ under the influence of Valentine. Very few converts have come from this school, but it is difficult to gauge the far-reaching results of faithful Christian teaching and influence. The girls' boarding and day schools, after an existence of nearly half a century, have developed into the present "Immanuel Girls' High School," where many devoted missionary ladies have been toiling with great success. At one time a large number of schools for girls were conducted in the city, under the fostering care of a Miss White, locally connected. The patient labours of the late Miss Trott and the now retired Miss Campbell (although connected with the Z.B.M. they worked hand in hand with the Marathi Mission) resulted in many conversions among the Beni-Israelites.

"With all these agencies, direct evangelistic work, twenty years ago, was represented by a single catechist, who worked among the servants of Europeans. Since the Indian Church took up the work a steady progress has been made. About 900 Indian Christians are connected with the Marathi and Gujerati congregations. The Indian District Church Council, with three Indian Clergy and aided by a good staff of evangelists, are carrying on vigorously both

missionary and pastoral work. The Church Missionary Society now subsidises the Indian Church for carrying on these various operations.

"In 1838 Nasik was occupied. Farrar (the father of the famous Dean Farrar) and Dixon settled themselves in the city of Nasik. They were the pioneers of English education there. The missionary influence on this Benares of Western India has been such that nearly thirty-five Brahman converts have been baptised in the past. Nasik proved to be, for a long time, the cradle of our Western Indian Mission. In 1854, when the British Government handed over liberated African slaves to the mission, the Rev. W. Salter Price founded the Christian settlement of Sharanpur. For many years this city of refuge proved to be a city set on a hill. It was from here that the 'boys' who accompanied Dr. Livingstone were sent. It became a vigorous centre of higher education and industries. Subsequently this African Colony was removed to East Africa. This proved to be the first set-back to the work at Nasik. Then came Schwartz, with his practical German training. His idea was to make Sharanpur a self-contained Christian Colony. Farming and all other agencies that go to the completion of a village were set on foot. But while things were making rapid progress he suddenly died. This second set-back completely killed this idea. Henceforward, save for the orphanages and a few things connected with them, the Indian Christian had to go elsewhere, and except for the missionary and philanthropic work carried out in the city by Miss Harvey and her colleagues and also the efforts of an Indian Clergyman, Nasik has ceased to be an aggressive centre. However, the good it has done in the past has not been in vain. Almost all the past and present Indian Clergy connected with the C.M.S. can point to Nasik as their spiritual home.

"In 1870 the Rev. Rattanji Nowrohi was ordained and sent to Aurangabad (a British Camp in the Nizam's territory). The few Indian Christians there rallied round him. During the course of a quarter of a century between two and three thousand people were gathered into the Christian fold. After his retirement several European missionaries have entered on his labours. The work is full of promise. Many are knocking at the door. A good Christian agency is needed to take advantage of the open doors."

The work at Malegaon in Khandesh was very successful in

early days. "The names of Menge and Rogers are associated with the early missionary efforts there." Later on Malegaon was given up, and Manmad has become the chief centre in this region. The Zenana Bible and Medical Mission has now a large girls' school at Manmad.

Of Poona we need say but little. It was occupied in 1882 by the Rev. R. A. Squires, one of two brothers who were well-known missionaries in the Bombay Diocese for twenty years. Mr. Squires started a Divinity School there. It has never been a really strong centre, and at the present time a European missionary, a Tamil pastor and a Marathi pastor compose its entire staff.

"The Mass Movement areas in the Nasik, Manmad, and Aurangabad districts are promising, and it will need all the energy the Mission can command to develop these areas. In the mean time the C.M.S. has wisely established Indian Church Councils for self-support and self-expansion on the same pattern as exists in the great missionary province of Tinnevelly. The object is to hand over responsibilities to the Indian Church wherever it comes to maturity, and to allow the missionaries to occupy the 'regions beyond.'"

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel started their work in Bombay a generation later than the C.M.S. Ten years later, 1878, they opened work at Kolhapur, in the Bombay Deccan, and three years later at Ahmednagar, which is now their largest and most successful mission in the Bombay Diocese. Thanks to Canon King, we have been able to learn a good deal of their chief mission work at Ahmednagar. Bishop Douglas had urged the establishment of a chain of mission stations in the Marathi country, beginning at Poona. Originally the plan was that wherever there was a Chaplain ministering to the Europeans, there should also be a missionary to work amongst non-Christians. At Ahmednagar mission work was begun in 1869 by the Chaplain, the Rev. H. W. Bagnell, with the assistance of a young man named Sevakrao Gaikvad. Mr. Bagnell superintended the work from 1869 to 1873, opening a small school not far from the English Church. As the work appeared promising, Bishop Douglas transferred the Rev. Thomas Williams from Kolhapur to Ahmednagar. "When Mr. Williams arrived in Ahmednagar early in 1873, the American Congregationalists' Mission, which had been at work in the city for over fifty years, strongly protested against mission

work being started by our Church." Bishop Douglas's answer to their objection was very decided: "We, as a Church, have our own duties to the heathen and our own responsibilities, responsibilities from which nothing can deliver us, duties for which God and our own consciences will call us to account."

For quite a long time there was a considerable controversy in the Nonconformist papers about the raid of this "Welshman." "One cause of friction unquestionably was to be found in the fact that some of the schoolmasters and catechists from the Congregationalist Mission joined the S.P.G. They were apparently attracted by our religious services, which seemed to them more devotional than those of the Congregationalists."

Mr. Williams entered on his work with great earnestness, and in the first week of his tour baptised no less than fifty-five persons. Before the end of the year his congregation had increased to one hundred and sixteen. The conditions of work were by no means easy. The district of Ahmednagar at that time was very badly supplied with roads, and as the people whom Mr. Williams had baptised belonged to sixteen different villages, it was almost impossible with only one priest to secure regular administration of the Sacraments and the carrying out of the Church's system of Divine worship.

"In October, 1873, Bishop Douglas came on his first visit to the Mission. I do not think," so Canon King writes, "that Bishop Douglas's Life has ever been written, although he was a very noteworthy person and, as far as this diocese is concerned, our first missionary Bishop. He travelled in the utmost simplicity without tents, as Mr. Williams says in his first report, 'the Bishop having no tent or any other shelter than the sparse foliage of a tree riddled by the sunlight. . . .' The villagers at Toka still point out a tree under which the Bishop slept.

"The Bishop first visited the small Mission established at Bhingar, and then accompanied Mr. Williams on a tour through the villages where there were these newly formed communities of the baptised. He visited Toka, Undirgao, Malunja, Belapur, Kendal, Rahuri, and Vambori. Altogether he administered the Sacrament of Confirmation to sixty people and admitted most of them to the Holy Communion, and so completed the foundation of a branch of Holy Church in the Ahmednagar Collectorate."

Unfortunately for the Mission, Mr. Williams was compelled to take sick leave to England after he had been at work for only eighteen months. In his place Bishop Douglas appointed the Rev. W. S. Barker, a young clergyman who had been at work in Poona. Mr. Barker was a character that much appealed to the Hindus. To quote from Canon King : " He was utterly other-worldly and would give away whatever he possessed with both hands.

" Mr. Williams was a glutton for work, but Mr. Barker was even more energetic. One of the old catechists told me of Mr. Barker waking him up in the middle of the night and walking with him from Nagar to Mohoji, a distance of about twenty-eight miles, in order to be present for the early morning service."

After Mr. Barker was withdrawn from Ahmednagar, this promising Mission was left without a missionary for some time, though Mr. Blunt, a Government Chaplain, did his best to superintend the work. Then for a time the Mission received a serious set-back. In the absence of any English missionary, " a Roman Catholic Bishop " visited Ahmednagar, and induced two catechists and sixteen other agents to leave the Communion of the Church of England. " He is reported to have baptised one hundred and fifty of our catechumens and to have received into the Roman Catholic Church a large number of our Christians." On hearing of this, Bishop Mylne at once despatched the Rev. J. Taylor to Ahmednagar, who in a short time received back a large number of the deserters. Then began a great period of expansion. Of Canon Taylor, his brother missionary, Canon King, writes : " He was the greatest evangelist this diocese has ever had, and his instructions were the more impressed on the minds of his flock by his holy and devout life." During the first ten months he baptised 1927 persons, and in addition to this admitted over 1500 as candidates for baptism. Many persons apparently condemned Mr. Taylor for his hasty baptisms. His defence was that " these people had long had the Gospel preached to them by different missionaries, and their faith in Hinduism had been shaken." He made a strong appeal for more men to help him in this forward movement, and for a time Father Goreh and several other clergymen came to his assistance. " Mr. Taylor's ascetic method of touring was beyond anything that we are accustomed to in these days. In my first

tour with him he had no tents, and we used to put up in the Mahar Chavadis. All day long there were crowds of people round him, he never seemed to stop talking all day except for meals and a tub—the latter was not always feasible! . . . He seemed to have a special affection for Mahar Gosavis, there was nearly always one in his company. Our nights were always broken with the barking of dogs which swarm in most Maharwadas, and we were wakened very early, long before daylight, by the women beginning their grinding, which is usually accompanied by singing. Padre Taylor used to preach, or rather give instructions, at enormous length. Before baptism he would give a detailed exposition of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments, and no one was allowed to leave the instruction. Even when the numbers to be baptised exceeded a hundred he would say the whole of the words following 'We receive this child'. . . separately to each individual. My knowledge of Marathi was small, but even I could see how every word that Padre Taylor said was understood by his auditors; they would wag their heads and interrupt with questions, showing that they were following attentively all that was said."

From this time onwards the Ahmednagar Mission has gone forward steadily, until it has now a number of out-stations in various parts of the district and considerably more than 6000 converts. At Miri Mr. Winslow, one of the Mission staff, has established an "Ashram," where he is training in the religious life a number of young Indian Christians, who in future years will be priests and evangelists to their people. There is a splendid body of women workers in the Mission, with their headquarters at St. Monica's, in Ahmednagar. If I have dealt somewhat fully on the past history of this interesting Mission, it is because far too little is known of it, and one would hope that before long such a full account of it may be given as has been done in the case of other of our Indian Missions. To spend a few days at Ahmednagar, as was the present writer's good fortune a few months ago, would make any Christian enthusiastic about Missions. Certainly one cannot soon forget the Sunday morning Celebration at St. Saviour's Church, its huge number of communicants, its splendid congregational singing, and its atmosphere of reverence and devotion.

Of the work of the S.P.G. at Hubli, which deserves special mention, we are indebted to an interesting description given by the Bishop. "Wandering about India are many curious tribes classed by Government as Criminal, and reported to be so by the more settled people. They live in various ways: by hunting, by collecting forest produce, by coining and passing false coins, by systematic petty thieving. A member of the Indian Civil Service, Mr. O. H. B. Starte, conceived the idea of reclaiming these people and getting them to settle down and adopt honest occupations. The task was not quite so difficult as might be expected, because the poor creatures were distrusted by all the villagers and harried by the police. Mr. Starte has now six or eight large settlements of these Criminal tribes. Neither he nor the Government thought it wise that this great effort should depend upon the life of one man. It was determined to hand over some of the settlements to different Missions, and the S.P.G. were offered and accepted the care of the settlement at Hubli, with about two thousand settlers. The ladies of that Mission, Miss Edwards and Miss Tickell, and more recently Miss Ward, have been so successful in their work that Mr. Starte now sends all the worst boys and girls from all his camps to Hubli. Mr. Bradbury of the S.P.G. is now the Superintendent of the Settlement, and he and his wife are guiding the educational work amongst these young savages. I can only say that in all the experiences of over thirty years in India, I have seen nothing more remarkable than this settlement at Hubli. About four hundred children are receiving instruction in the school and about six hundred of the grown-up Criminals are working either in the local cotton-mills or in the railway shops. During my visit to Hubli I confirmed, amongst others, one of the deer-stealing tribe, a lad of sixteen, a kind of firstfruits of this work. It is unquestionably a work which calls for great self-sacrifice on the part of its workers and it is an inspiration to see them at work and to note how they are winning their way to the hearts of these strange people."

Another remarkable piece of missionary work in the Bombay Diocese, which is, I believe, unique in India, is Canon Joshi's Converts' Home in Bombay. "Canon Joshi takes into the Home would-be converts, just when life is made intolerable for them by their relations. Many

have been enabled by this Home to pass this terribly trying period in safety." When recently visiting the Home, the present writer had an opportunity of meeting quite a number of high-caste people whose conversion to Christianity had been made possible by this Home. It is an intensely interesting bit of work and it is all the more interesting when one remembers that it has been in part conceived and entirely carried out by an Indian clergyman.

Away to the north of Bombay, where Rajputana touches the Bombay native states, there was started many years ago a C.M.S. Mission amongst the Bhils. It was started largely through the influence of Bishop Bickersteth, of Exeter. Family reasons directed his attention very strongly to Kherwara, the headquarters of the Mewar Bhil Corps; and the Church Missionary Society, in response to his appeal, and a generous donation of £1000 which accompanied it, sent the Rev. C. S. Thompson to start work in that station and its neighbourhood. In those days Rajputana was a part of the Calcutta Diocese and the Mission was under the care of the Metropolitan of India. For years Mr. Thompson worked amongst the Bhils with but little or no result. He was in the habit of moving about the surrounding country and spending considerable periods of his time at Billadia and Lusadia. Then the tide began to turn, the suspicions of the Bhils began to die down, and Mr. Thompson had the joy of baptising some few converts. The great famine of 1900 visited these regions when the strength of this little Mission was taxed to the utmost. Mr. Thompson himself was in England when the famine started, in a Nursing Home, quite unfit for work. Hearing of the needs of his poor Bhils, he determined, against strong medical advice, to return at once to Bhil-land. Shortly after his return, while journeying through the country on his mission of mercy, endeavouring to get food to its starving people, he was attacked with cholera and died under a big tree, not far from Kherwara. A large stone on a cross now marks the place where this devoted servant of God passed away to the rest of Paradise.

When the Diocese of Nagpur was formed this Mission automatically passed into the care of the present writer. Then after twelve years or so, it was felt that the distance of Bhil-land from Nagpur was so great that from every point of view it was desirable to transfer it to the Bombay

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Diocese. This was the more natural because, though the Mission had started at Kherwara, it has gradually been developing into the Bombay native states.

During the Great War this Mission passed again through deep waters, the Rev. A. I. Birkett, its senior missionary, being drowned when crossing one of the rivers in flood, and Miss Bull, who had been for years a household word in that part of India, being drowned while returning from furlough when the P. & O. steamship *Persia* was torpedoed off Crete. "God buries His workmen, but carries on His work," and it is a happy thing to know that in spite of all its trials and sorrows the Bhil Mission is going on steadily, growing in numbers and gradually establishing a living Church amongst these wild and attractive people.

No account of the missionary work of the Bombay Diocese would be complete without some reference to the work which has been carried on for the last fifty years by the Fathers of St. John the Evangelist, Cowley. Father Benson, its founder, had for long wished to start mission work in India, and had himself been anxious to come out to the work. Various important reasons, however, made this impossible. At length, in response to invitations from both Bishop Milman and Bishop Douglas, he sent Father Page and Father Biscoe, who arrived in Bombay in 1874. They were followed a few months later by Father O'Neill. Father O'Neill did not continue long in Bombay. He had for some time felt a vocation to a life of even sterner asceticism than the rest of his brothers, and so, after a visit to Bishop Milman, he established himself at Indore, in Central India. Here he gathered round him a small body of disciples. The present writer has visited the little house in the Bazaar of Indore where this saintly recluse, an old Oxford rowing blue, lived for some years, and where he died. The owner of the house still regards it as more or less sacred. At times Father O'Neill would come and preach to the English congregation of St. Ann, Indore, to their delight and edification. His great friend, by whose side he is buried in the Indore Cemetery, was Aberich Mackay, the gifted author of *Twenty-one Days in India*.

The early days of the Cowley Fathers in Bombay were spent in the slums of a part of Bombay City called Sonapur. A year later they moved to another part of the city called Mazagaon. Before leaving India, Bishop Douglas put

Father Page in charge of St. Peter's, Mazagaon, which gave him and the community a definite position in the city.

Things have changed since those early days, and the old house and the small Church at Mazagaon have given place to finer buildings and a far finer Church. Not that the Cowley Fathers desired the change, but as the land on which these earlier buildings stood was needed for other purposes and was purchased over their heads, they were compelled reluctantly to make the change. In their earlier days they were assisted by the Rev. J. H. Lord, an associate who had come out to work amongst the Bombay Jews. He lived and worked with them for many years until he was called to work elsewhere in the diocese.

The important Mission at Panch Howds, in the city of Poona, has been for so long connected with the Cowley Fathers, that few now seem to recall the fact that it was started by the Rev. Benjamin Dulley. Father Dulley, as he is generally called, had come out to India as Chaplain to Bishop Mylne. For some time Bishop Mylne had been anxious to start missionary work in Poona City. On his securing a house close to five tanks (hence the name Panch Howds), Father Dulley went to live in it. Various reasons compelled him to leave India after only a short stay. On his return to England he connected himself with St. Peter's, London Docks, where he worked for over thirty years. During Father Dulley's short stay, Cecil Rivington, now a Canon of Bombay Cathedral, joined the Panch Howds Mission, and on Father Dulley's departure took over its charge which he held till 1894. Since then Canon Rivington has been working elsewhere in the diocese, and to-day, after forty-six years of unbroken service, is training young Indians for Ordination at Betgiri-Gadag. To have given India nearly fifty years of unbroken service without once going home carries one back in thought to the life of the great Schwartz in South India.

In 1882 the Cowley Fathers associated themselves definitely with the Mission at Panch Howds, and when Father Relton had gained the requisite experience he was put in charge. Since then it has been exclusively their Mission. The Cowley Fathers, as most people know, stand for " being " more than for " doing," and their devout prayerful, and self-denying lives have unquestionably been a great blessing, not only to the Bombay Diocese, but to

the whole Indian Church. Their beautiful Basilica Church at Panch Howds, crowded as it is so often with devout worshippers, must make a deep impression on the large non-Christian community which lives in that neighbourhood.

I have written somewhat fully of the missionary work in the Bombay Diocese because it is far too little known, and information about it is not easily come by, being scattered about in short articles in old Diocesan Magazines and pamphlets.

"There is every sort of interest in this diocese," writes the Bishop, "and there is hardly any one who can fail to find something in it that will interest him or her. The only element of work in which we have as yet no part is University education, which is entirely in the hands of the Roman Catholics and the Presbyterians."

There is the work of the Chaplains amongst the British soldiers in the Cantonments of the Bombay Presidency and Aden. There is the work done for the sailors in Bombay itself—a work started in Bishop Harding's time, which has recently been enormously developed by a magnificent Sailors' Institute, towards which Bombay gave six and a half lakhs (over forty thousand pounds), in gratitude for what the sailors did in the Great War. There is the work done by devoted Deaconesses in the slums of Bombay, who are calling out for more helpers. There is the work of the Girls' Friendly Society in the shops, telephone and telegraph and other offices in the city—a work which has recently been immensely helped by the acquisition of a building containing three flats, which has been purchased for £8000. There is the rescue work of the League of Mercy, started by Mrs. Jackson, with its house in Bombay—a Home for neglected children at Nasik and a branch at Poona. And there are lastly the schools which the Church is providing for the children of the Anglo-Indian community. The Bombay Diocese is well provided with schools for this community. In Bombay itself the Church has no less than three High Schools for their boys, and two High Schools for their girls. The Byculla Schools and Cathedral Boys' and Girls' High Schools can hold their own with any schools of this kind in India. The St. Peter's High School for Boys at Mazagaon is under the management of the Cowley Fathers. There is a movement on foot at the present time to remove

the Byculla Boarding Schools from Bombay to Deolali on the Ghats, which will secure for the children a far healthier and more invigorating climate. There are also excellent schools for this community at Poona. The Boys' High School, called the Bishop's School, founded by Bishop Harding, and the Girls' High School, managed by the Sisters of St. Mary's, Wantage, are doing splendid work. To this latter is attached a normal school for the training of teachers, to which girls of all parts of the Bombay Diocese and Central Provinces are sent. There is a delightful Girls' School at Khandala, managed by the All Saints' Sisters. Mount Abu has also got a High School for Boys which has recently been taken over by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. It has also got one of the Lawrence Military Schools for the boys and girls of soldiers. Certainly no one will wonder, after reading this record of the work of the Bombay Diocese, that its present Bishop is now asking the Church to give him an Assistant-Bishop to share with him his heavy burdens.

CHAPTER XV

THE DIOCESE OF COLOMBO, CEYLON, 1845

Bishops

1. James Chapman, consecrated 1845; resigned 1861; died 1879.
2. Piers Calverly Claughton, consecrated Bishop of St. Helena 1859; translated 1867; resigned 1870; died 1884.
3. Hugh Willoughby Jermyn, consecrated 1871; resigned 1875; elected Bishop of Brechin 1875; Primus of Scotland 1886–1901; died 1903.
4. Reginald Stephen Copleston, consecrated 1875; translated to Calcutta 1902.
5. Ernest Arthur Copleston, consecrated in St. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta, on August 30, 1903.

Books of Reference.—*A Short History of the Church of England in Ceylon*, by C. H. Christie David, 1906, Colombo; *Memorials of Bishop Chapman*, Skeffington and Sons; *Buddhism*, by Bishop R. S. Copleston, Longmans; *Historical Sketches, Ceylon*, S.P.G. 1902; Bishop Heber's *Indian Journal*.

WE owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. C. H. Christie David for his *Short History* of this fascinating Island Diocese of Colombo. It is indeed an island "where every prospect pleases," and if the ancient world was loud in praise of its beauty, a modern American description of it as the "show place of the universe" makes it clear that the praise of the ancients was not mistaken. Of its old civilisation, its ruined cities and temples, it is not for us to speak, nor can we do more than allude to the entering in of Buddhism into the island which was at that time partly Hindu and more completely the home of devil-worship. It is certain that Christianity entered fairly early into Ceylon, probably at the same time as it entered into South India. Most writers think that the early missionaries to Ceylon were Nestorian, and that they had fair success in their efforts. Long centuries passed, and then from the middle of the sixteenth century onwards Ceylon was to suffer from a bewildering succession of changes. It was to have for nearly a hundred years Portuguese rulers in its maritime parts—men of strong and intolerant convictions, who established the Roman Catholic religion wherever they could and who built churches and convents in many places.

Then came a period of Dutch domination for a hundred and fifty years, which was equally intolerant in its own way, as the Dutch demanded of all natives who were in the service of the state that they should adopt the state religion, which was rigid Presbyterianism. They would have no truce with any kind of idolatry, and Bishop Chapman tells us that "during the time of the Dutch no single idol temple was ever built within their territories, nor was any native allowed to enter certain places with the stamp of idolatry on his person." He also adds in significant language that "in the first year of British rule which succeeded the Dutch no less than three hundred temples were built in one single province, and out of every ten natives one now meets, nine will be seen with the mark of heathenism visibly stamped on his forehead." The Dutch were unquestionably very earnest in their own religion. They built splendid Churches which still stand in many places, and they supplied Chaplains in abundance. When the British took over the rule of the island more than a century ago there were over 300,000 Christians, baptised members of the Dutch Church, though, as the Bishop of Colombo remarks, they were Christians more in name than in reality. With the coming of the British a new policy, such as we are familiar with in India, was at once introduced. It was made clear to the natives of Ceylon that they could expect no worldly advantage from the fact that they had become Christians. When this became known the greater proportion of the Dutch converts, "Government Christians" as they were called, rapidly decreased. "There were, however, certain places in which earnest pastors kept their flocks from lapsing into Buddhism, and in spite of widespread defection it is nevertheless the fact that the majority of the Sinhalese Christians are not recent converts, but are the descendants of those who became Christians under the Dutch." From the moment the island passed into the possession of the British the fathers of the Church Missionary Society had their eyes upon it as a suitable sphere for missionary effort. In 1818 their first missionaries arrived in Ceylon, and ever since then a succession of devoted men and women belonging to that Society have been working there. Nearly a generation later, at the request of the first Bishop, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel also started work in the island.

We read in the lives of the earlier Bishops of Calcutta interesting accounts of their Episcopal visits to Ceylon,

Bishop Middleton, the first Bishop of Calcutta, has put it on record that he enjoyed his time in Ceylon more than in any other place during his Visitation tour. Bishop Heber was also charmed with the island and the work which was being carried on. Bishop Turner, the fourth Bishop of Calcutta, seems to have been depressed by the want of progress of the faith in this beautiful island. Then in the year 1837, Ceylon became part of the newly constituted Diocese of Madras. This state of things was not to last for long, as eight years later, in 1845, Ceylon was constituted into the separate Diocese of Colombo, and the Rev. James Chapman was appointed its first Bishop.

No one can read Mr. Christie David's *History* without feeling that Ceylon has been peculiarly fortunate in the Bishops who have been sent to it. They seem to have succeeded one another also in just the right order, as far as the needs of the work were concerned.

James Chapman, the first Bishop of Colombo, was an old Etonian and Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. From Cambridge he returned to Eton as Assistant-Master, where he proved a brilliant success. The celebrated Dr. Thring remarked of him that "he never knew so good a teacher." That he was strongly drawn to educational work is evident from the fact that when he was appointed to Colombo he was about to become a candidate for the Headmastership of Harrow. Fortunately for the Diocese of Colombo, he had held a College living for some years before he began his Episcopal work, so that he came to the diocese fully equipped for the work which lay before him. The number of Anglican Christians in the diocese at the time of his appointment was a little more than seven thousand, which seemed a tiny number when compared with the vast number of converts during the Dutch period. The number of scholars in the Church schools was only about five thousand. It is clear that the Bishop was a good deal depressed by what he saw during his first tour, and that he was constantly comparing the converts which the English were making with those which the Dutch had made. "The whole province was divided into thirty-two parishes by the Dutch, who built a Church, a manse, and a school-house in each. Many of these buildings still remain, some in ruins, others appropriated to any use which the local Government may authorise. They are witnesses against us. The Dutch did far more for the propagation of a less

pure faith than we do for the extension of our own. Were British rule to become, in the changes brought about by the providence of God from year to year, a fact of history to-morrow, no visible impress would be seen of our faith in the whole face of the land. With the Dutch it was different. They conquered, they colonised, often they converted the people. Everywhere they built schools and Churches; everywhere to this day in the maritime provinces we see traces of them. We abuse them, but we strive not to emulate them; because they did not all things well, we think and talk about their faults, but little imitate that in which they are clearly imitable. This island has now been under British rule for fifty years, but not a single Church has been built to be compared with those of which we see the ruins in some of the rural districts or those which witness against us in each of their principal military stations."

During the sixteen years of his Episcopate Bishop Chapman lived a very active life. On one occasion we find him at the request of the Bishop of London, making a sea-voyage to Mauritius, where he consecrated three Churches and confirmed many candidates. Bishop Chapman will always be remembered in Ceylon on account of the splendid lead he gave in the promotion of sound education in the island. Perhaps the most important act of his Episcopate took place in the year 1851, when he founded St. Thomas's College in Colombo. This College quickly became the leading educational institution in the island, and under a succession of able Wardens "has sent out to the various professions of the country a regular supply of men of high character and education, both Christian and non-Christian." Later on a Divinity School was attached to the College, in which numbers of Sinhalese and Tamil Christians have been trained for Holy Orders. When Bishop Chapman resigned the see at the end of sixteen years of hard work, he received the following testimonial to the splendid work he had done as a pioneer Bishop: "Your Episcopate will be remembered as one of unceasing activity in proclaiming and spreading your and our Master's religion in this heathen land; whilst your untiring zeal and noble munificence have given such an impetus to the great cause of education as, under God, cannot fail to be attended with the most beneficial results to Ceylon."

Bishop Chapman was succeeded by one who had also distinguished himself at the sister University of Oxford, and who

had been Fellow and Tutor of University College. Piers Calverly Claughton, the second Bishop of Colombo, had been appointed the first Bishop of St. Helena in the year 1859; three years later he was translated to Ceylon as Bishop of Colombo. He came of a clerical family; his elder brother being the Bishop of St. Albans. Before coming abroad he had had considerable experience in the Lower House of Convocation in England, which was to stand him in good stead during his Episcopate in Ceylon. Shortly after his enthronement he summoned a meeting of his Clergy in the Library of St. Thomas's College, Colombo, for the purpose of obtaining their opinion about the best way of spreading the Gospel amongst the heathen. Then came a long tour throughout his diocese. During the tour he met the principal chiefs of the Kandyan district by appointment. "They were all in costume, and the scene," the Bishop remarks, "was very striking." The Bishop addressed them by interpretation on the subject of Christianity, to which they listened with great attention. In the course of a lengthy address, the Bishop said: "My friends, I have asked you all to assemble here to-day, that I might have an opportunity of speaking to you about Christianity, the religion which we profess. I know you are a very great nation, a very old nation. We are a very great nation ourselves, but we owe our greatness to Christianity. We have our army and navy, and other elements of greatness, by which we command respect among the nations of the world; but it is Christianity alone that has contributed to our real greatness. Remote dependencies and distant colonies have been committed to our charge by an all-wise Providence, and it is therefore our duty and our privilege to impart to the people which inhabit them that knowledge of true religion which we ourselves possess. Believe me, it is not my intention to treat your religion with disrespect, but simply to tell you what we know and feel about our own, the only true religion in the world. Whatever may impede its progress for a while, Christianity will and must spread throughout the length and breadth of this island, for it will flourish when all other religions cease to exist. The building in which I address you is the abode of the Representative in this island of our Gracious Majesty the Queen. Under her rule, Christianity is not, as you are aware, forced upon her subjects. The reason of this is that she knows, what we also know, that Christianity must be embraced voluntarily. A forced,

religion can never be that which ours is—the religion of the heart. We do not seek to change your manners, your customs, or your modes of dress ; our great object is to make you Christian in thought, word, and deed." Dewe Nilleme, the highest chief, on behalf of the rest, thanked the Bishop for his kind feelings towards them, and added that although they were not Christians, he had no doubt that the next generation was likely to embrace this religion, seeing that his own son, who was educated in a Christian school, was now a Christian. The Bishop rejoined by remarking : " I hope the father will follow the footsteps of his son in this respect at least, and set an example to the rest."

The Bishop also spent some time amongst the coffee-planters during his tour.

From the commencement of his Episcopate Bishop Claughton seems to have felt considerable misgivings about the utility of Catechists. He thought their position ambiguous, and he strongly objected to their working apart from missionaries.

It is to Bishop Claughton that the Church of Ceylon owes the commencement of its Synodical life. He had been deeply impressed by events which had taken place in South Africa in connection with the Colenso case. He felt strongly the isolation of the Colonial Churches and the grave dangers they were in consequent upon their isolation. He felt that they needed Synods, duly constituted and representative, with a declaration of their principles, showing their unity in faith with the Mother Church in England. After due consultation with the Archbishop of Canterbury and other of the Colonial Churches, Bishop Claughton summoned the first Synod of the Diocese of Colombo in the year 1866. He did so with the full approval of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Owing to the fact that the Church of the Diocese of Colombo was at that time established, it was impossible for the first Synod to be more than a consultative body. Later on, when the Church was disestablished in the year 1886, the Synod of the Diocese was fully constituted as a legislative body. It now meets yearly and consists of the Bishop, Clergy in Orders, and representatives of the laity. It has a constitution and rules providing for its sessions, elections of lay representatives, election of a Bishop, the Bishop's Court, the Incorporated Trustees, Patronage, Lay Officers, Pension Fund, and Standing Orders. The general administration of central

funds are managed by a Standing Committee consisting of the Bishop, the Archdeacon, seven Clergy, and fourteen laymen who are chosen by the Synod. Bishop Claughton's mind was much exercised by these matters and especially on the subject of the connection between the Colonial Churches and the home Church. While he thought that the Synods of these Churches should be entirely independent of any outside influence, he was anxious that the Colonial Churches should, where it was possible, preserve their link with the English Church supplied by the Letters Patent of the Crown, and he thought "the best mode of preserving the link with the Mother Church was by assigning to the Archbishop of Canterbury powers to receive appeals in certain cases."

In 1871 Bishop Claughton resigned after a ten years' Episcopate and was appointed Archdeacon of London. He seems to have impressed every one in the island with his wonderful serenity.

His successor, the Ven. Hugh W. Jermyn, was a man of immense devotion of life and great Evangelical zeal. During the four years of his Episcopate he preached the Word in season and out of season. In a Pastoral Letter to the Clergy of his diocese in the year 1874 he dwelt much upon the necessity of holiness of life, activity in God's service, and liberality in almsgiving. Early in 1875 he became dangerously ill owing to attacks of dysentery which he had contracted during a prolonged Visitation in the unhealthy parts of the island. Unfortunately his sickness did not yield to treatment, and much to the regret of every one he was compelled to resign his see after only four years of work. A few years later he was appointed Primus of the Scottish Episcopal Church.

He was succeeded in due course by the Rev. Reginald Stephen Copleston, who was destined to give to Colombo twenty-seven years of splendid work and then to pass on to Calcutta as Metropolitan of India, a position which he held for eleven years, truly a fine record. A brilliant classical scholar, he distinguished himself greatly at the University and was elected a Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, in 1868. He was twice elected President of the Union and was considered an able and convincing speaker. A man of a deeply religious nature with a strong drawing towards missionary work, it was not strange that he should have been

selected from the first as a leader. When he received the offer of the Bishopric of Colombo, he was still under thirty years of age, the Canonical age for Consecration. It was felt, however, that he was so peculiarly qualified for the post that the place was kept open and he was duly consecrated in the year 1875. So much of immense interest happened during the thirty-eight years of his life in the East, first as Bishop of Colombo, then as Metropolitan of India, that it is hoped some day we shall have a full memoir of his distinguished career. We have alluded elsewhere to his great work on Buddhism, and to his quite remarkable gifts as a Chairman in Council. The Diocese of Colombo owes much to him. During the period before and after its disestablishment he probably did his greatest work. Writing of this period, Mr. Christie David says, "It has been often asked what has been Bishop Copleston's greatest work in Colombo? The answer is the creation of the Clergy Endowment Fund. In those dark days of 1886, when State aid was withdrawn from the Church, and it stood face to face with a great crisis, it was most fortunate that the Church of Ceylon should have had at the helm such a master to guide it through its difficulties. It is true that the Bishop had some very able advisers in the island, but the controlling hand was his, and he spared neither his great attainments, his purse, nor his influence to safeguard the Church in Ceylon, and he is to-day well comforted with the thought that the Church he loved so well is on a safe foundation."

Of his brother, the Right Rev. Ernest Copleston, D.D., who succeeded him nearly twenty years ago, it is sufficient to say that he has carried on the work faithfully and successfully along the lines laid down by those who came before him.

We cannot do better than conclude this short historical sketch by quoting some parts of an interesting account, given to us by the present Bishop, of the work which is now going on in his diocese.

Of the Clergy he writes: "The number on the list in 1922 shows 21 English, 7 Burgher, 34 Sinhalese, and 25 Tamil Priests, and 8 Sinhalese and 6 Tamil Deacons. The majority of the native Clergy are well conversant with English, and are accustomed in the towns to conduct services in English as well as in their own tongue. Several of them are in charge of parishes where there are regular services in at least two languages. There is a Divinity School in connection with

St. Thomas's College, and from among the Sinhalese and Tamils more seek admission than the school can afford to take, or more than can be provided with titles afterwards."

Of the parishes and congregations in his diocese he writes : "The Church population at the 1911 Census was about 42,000. In the towns, both large and small, these consist of English, English-speaking Burghers, *i.e.* descendants of the Dutch and Portuguese, or of mixed descent ; Sinhalese and Tamils. Generally the English-speaking members of all these races worship together in one Church. The aim has been to unite all races in one Church, to form parishes, not by race but by area, though where there is any considerable number of Sinhalese or Tamils, or both, in such area, services are conducted in their own language, as well as in English. A large number of village congregations, many of which were built and nurtured by the C.M.S., consist entirely of Sinhalese or of Tamils (the northern and eastern districts of the island are predominantly Tamil). In some Churches in the towns, where there are two or three congregations, they meet all together at a united Eucharist on great festivals. Many of the parishes are small and cannot provide the whole stipend of their Pastors. They are encouraged to give liberally by grants from the Central Stipend Sustentation Fund, which are made by the Standing Committee of the Diocese, and vary from ten to fifty per cent. of what is raised by the congregation.

" There are only two settled Planters' Chaplaincies, and large districts are without any ministrations of the Church. It is difficult to get planters to take much interest or to combine to guarantee a stipend, and so it is impossible under such precarious conditions to invite Clergy from England. A capital sum to start with or a regular subsidy is much needed.

"It has already been remarked that Bishop Chapman took the lead in the promotion of sound education, and in 1851 founded St. Thomas's College, which has done so much good in the island. In 1822 the Church Missionary Society opened a school in Kandy, but it is from 1872 that the history of this school, now Trinity College, really dates, while during the last ten or fifteen years it has made great strides, and has become a vital power among Kandyans, sending out men of fine Christian character to be a leaven among their countrymen.

"Since 1886 the Sisters of St. Margaret's, East Grinstead, have been at work in the diocese, and have a number of schools and homes under their care. Their High School, Bishop's College for Girls, and the Ladies' College founded by the C.M.S., both in Colombo, are two of the most effective in the diocese.

"In Kandy a High School, chiefly for the daughters of Kandyan Chiefs, under the auspices of the Zenana Missionary Society, has done and is doing a most effectual work for the Christianising of many homes. Of more recent years a Training School for Catechists and Schoolmasters, established in federation with the Wesleyans, has been the means of providing many men well trained both mentally and spiritually for village life and work.

"Another most valuable institution, in connection with the Zenana Society, is the School for Deaf and Blind, which has rapidly grown in numbers, and has received liberal support.

"A pleasing feature with regard to the various schools is that, with the exception of the English, there is no difficulty in having the children of the various races as pupils in the same school, and most of the English children are, if means allow, taken home at an early age for education.

"In the northern peninsula of Jaffna, where the people are almost entirely of Tamil race, the Church has a large College, St. John's, founded by the C.M.S. This and the Girls' College near by are both very valuable to the work of the Church among Tamils, and it is a very satisfactory feature that a large number of the teachers in both schools are old pupils who have gladly returned to their Alma Mater."

The Bishop concludes his remarks by a brief description of the missionary work which is now being carried on in his diocese: "There are some 750,000 Tamils, from Southern India, working on the tea, rubber, and cocoa estates, both in the hills and the lower country. Both English and native Clergy, with lay evangelists and catechists, minister over a vast area, both to Christian congregations and to Hindus, and experience shows that this is the most successful part of the missionary work in the way of conversion. The Tamil Christians themselves have been more helpful in this respect than other Christians.

"Ever since the coming of the Theosophists, about 1880,

Buddhist propaganda and opposition to Christianity has been active in varying degree. Of late this activity and with it bitterness and misrepresentation have much increased, and it is constantly represented to the people that national patriotism and Buddhism are inseparable. But the Church has among its numbers both in the Kandyan and in the low country, a considerable proportion of men of rank, wealth, and education, and therefore of influence, and it is by no means the case that at the present day converts only come from the poorer or less educated of the population. There are no Mass Movements, nor any sign that they are coming, but the Church is holding its own, and by God's blessing will go forward."

CHAPTER XVI

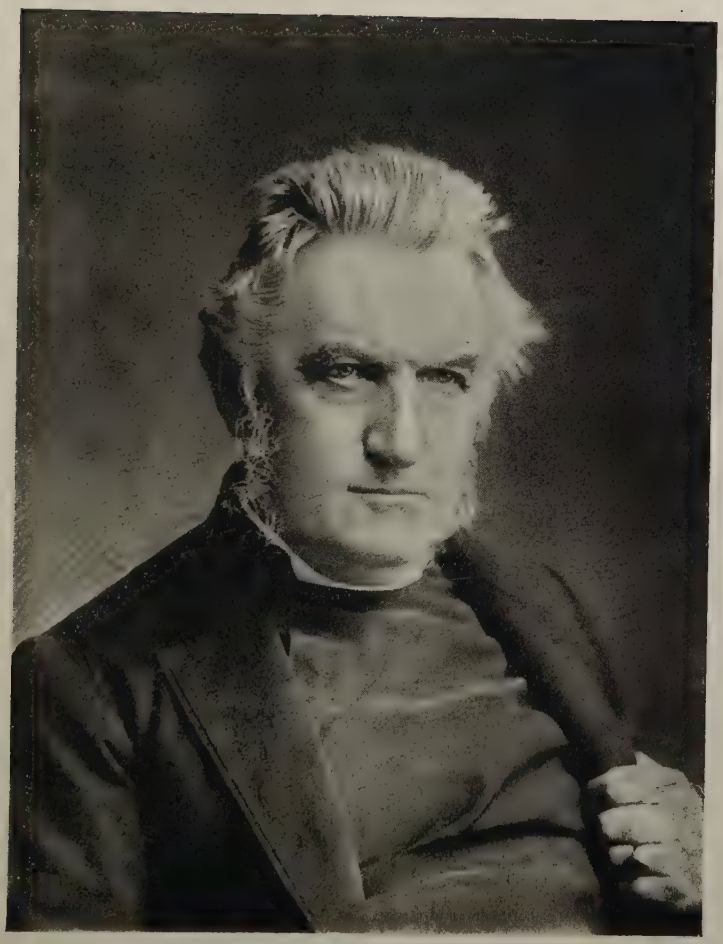
BISHOP COTTON, A GREAT EDUCATIONIST, 1858–1866

BOOKS OF REFERENCE.—*Memoir of George Edward Lynch Cotton, D.D.*, by Mrs. Cotton.

GEORGE EDWARD LYNCH COTTON, the second Metropolitan of India, arrived in India at a time when his special gifts were most needed. No selection could have been a more happy one. Never was there a time in the whole of our connection with India "when the Supreme Government evinced a more sincere desire to acknowledge the work which the Church had to do for India and to do all in its power to strengthen her hands, and never was there a Bishop in whom they reposed greater confidence." * As Headmaster of Marlborough, he had already won for himself a reputation as an able educationist. As a religious leader at a time of much perplexity, few men were more calm, wise, and fair-minded. Few too had greater gifts of penetrating into the heart of things and giving a clearer exposition of religious problems and difficulties. His biography makes it clear that he was one of those fortunate men who went on learning to the end of his life. As a boy, educated at Westminster School, he hardly gave promise of the remarkable ability and force of character which he showed in later life. He was a delicate boy and unable to take part in school games. He was, however, always interested in everything that was going on, and especially in his school-fellows; and his quaint dry humour and gentle sarcasm often exercised a distinct influence for good on boys who were about to do wrong. From school he passed on to Cambridge, where he finished his course as eighth classic, after which he went to Rugby as an assistant-master. It was there that he met with one who was to exercise a profound influence over his future life and character.

Dr. Arnold, Headmaster of Rugby, was then at the

* *Memoir*, by Mrs. Cotton.



EDWARD RALPH JOHNSON.
EIGHTH BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.
1876-1898.

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height of his power. From the first he seems to have been strongly attracted to Cotton. To Cotton he was always one of the heroes of his life. From Rugby Cotton passed on to Marlborough as its first Headmaster. The school was just being started, more or less as an experiment. Unlike the other great public schools, it was run on dormitory lines, *i.e.* with a common-room in which the whole school had their meals. It was started with the idea of being less expensive than the other great public schools. The six years of his life at Marlborough were amongst the most difficult in Cotton's life. He had to cherish the infant school with great care. His influence was remarkable. He attracted quite a number of young masters, who came to his assistance with the one desire of making the new experiment a success. They came prepared to accept smaller incomes than those given in the older public schools. Sufficient to say that before Cotton relinquished his charge of the school to go to India as its second Metropolitan, the school was an assured success. His addresses to the boys on Sunday evenings, which he described as his "sermonettes," became quite famous.

Then came the call to Calcutta. It came to him one afternoon when he was in school, and it came to him without any previous warning. Dr. Tait, then Bishop of London, was a warm admirer of Cotton, who had been his Examining Chaplain. On the news of Daniel Wilson's death, Dr. Tait strongly urged the claims of Cotton. On receiving the telegram Cotton rushed up to London to see a friend whom he had often consulted on difficult things in his life. "What are your reasons for thinking that I ought to take this Bishopric?" "There are two qualifications," was the answer, "indispensable to a Bishop of Calcutta, which are possessed by very few, but are possessed by you: one is the power of understanding the old religions of India, the other is the power of dealing fairly and kindly by the different Christian communities. Therefore you must take it."

He was consecrated in Westminster Abbey on Ascension Day. The sermon was preached by his friend, Dr. Vaughan, the Headmaster of Harrow. It was a sermon of great eloquence, and concluded with the following passage: "Amidst all the prayers of the Church, she asks not for him a speedy return. Checking the impulses of a natural affection, she rather asks for him that no nearer future may

be suffered to become his horizon, but only that more distant . . . distant of all, the anticipation of which, unlike every other anticipation, is purely invigorating, animating, and satisfying. With his heart in his work, and his hope placed above, he asks of us to-day, not the prayers for a return, but the prayer for success and blessing ; for a work that shall abide, and a recompense that shall be permanent."

Bishop Cotton was consecrated in May, but, as it was impossible for him to sail for India till September, he went back to Marlborough and continued his duties as Headmaster. During the vacation he paid farewell visits, transacted necessary business, and made a short excursion of a few days with one of his friends to see the Cathedrals of Norwich, Peterborough, and Lincoln. Shortly after the boys had reassembled for the winter term, Bishop Cotton took his last farewell of Marlborough. The whole school turned out at eight o'clock in the morning to cheer him as he started for Southampton on the outside of the familiar omnibus. No wonder that when the fatal tidings, eight years afterwards, of the Bishop's death reached England, many recalled the scene of parting on that memorable morning, and Dr. Bradley, then Headmaster of Marlborough, preached an eloquent sermon in the College Chapel on " The Parting at Miletus."

The Bishop journeyed to India via the Mediterranean and Egypt, and was installed in St. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta, on November 14, 1858. This change in the Episcopate of Calcutta occurred, as we have seen, just after the Indian Mutiny. Bishop Daniel Wilson, during the last few years of his life, had been able to do but little in the way of active Church work. There were many burning questions on which the Church wanted guidance, and on no question were good men's minds more exercised than on the subject of Missions and Evangelisation. There were some who urged it strongly, not only as a religious duty, but as a means of drawing men to an active loyalty towards the ruling power. There were others who vigorously opposed it, and said that it would cause endless trouble and a fresh mutiny. It was a time when, above all things, it was necessary that a leader in Bishop Cotton's position should be a man of wisdom and firmness. From the outset Bishop Cotton set himself to think out calmly and dispassionately

the best way of fulfilling our religious duties to India. He had come out, to quote from Dr. Vaughan's sermon, "to quicken the energies and regulate the labours of missionaries of Christ in the East, to build up again from its ruins a Church distressed and desolate and baptised in blood."

On two big missionary problems his mind soon became clear, and he gave his opinion in no hesitating manner. As regards the teaching of religion in Government schools, he would have no compulsory teaching of non-Christians, nor would he have the Bible taught by any one who was not a strong and well-educated Christian. "When I consider" (so runs the passage in the Charge, written with all the acute personal feeling which this aspect of the question invariably excited in him) "how great, whether for good or evil, is the influence of the living voice and the contact of mind with mind, and how disastrous in religious teaching is the effect of the suppressed sneer, the vacant air of indifference, the doubting or hostile comment, I must maintain that it were almost better for a Bengali not to know that the Word of God exists than to hear it explained by one who regards it as an imposture and a delusion."

On the subject of bazaar preaching he held decided views, which certainly do not reflect the opinion of many able missionaries. He realised the difficulty of talking to large crowds, of answering objections, often frivolous and vexatious, and so was on the whole opposed to bazaar preaching. He preferred that missionaries should preach in some quiet hall, as St. Paul did in the school of one Tyrannus.

His views about the Missions of the Church of England in and around Calcutta are given in an interesting way in a letter to his friend Dean Stanley. "They are very like well-ordered English country parishes, each with its Church, parsonage, and schools; cottages neat, people neat and tidy, schools decidedly good. But undoubtedly very little is doing in the way of adding to the converts (at least in the places just visited), though great care is taken to keep the existing converts and their descendants in the right path. Certainly able men are wanted. Few of the missionaries appear to me quite up to the mark of battling with acute Hindu or Mahomedan disputants."

It is interesting to note that he thought quite highly of the German missionaries who had been admitted to English Orders. In spite of certain disadvantages, he regarded them

as having introduced "more taste and romance into the Missions than some of the stricter English Puritans would tolerate or appreciate." He stated that in two places where they were working "the singing of the Bengali congregations was quite beautiful, and there was always something picturesque about our reception."

Like all Indian Bishops, he was constantly on tour. He was a great reader, and many of his long journeys by boat or carriage or palki were lightened by the pleasures he found in his books. He was a great reader of Indian History and brought a splendidly trained mind to its study. He always thought it well to have plenty of light literature with him, and could have stood an examination in all the leading novels of the day.

He was never really a great lover of Indian life. He missed home society greatly, especially the society of able men; but he never allowed vain regrets to interfere with his constant toils and duties. He was a great lover of soldiers. Himself a soldier's son, he took care, whenever he visited a Cantonment, to visit the Hospitals, Institutes, and everything which was important in the life of the soldier. He was particularly anxious that all the soldiers should be confirmed, and always tested the Chaplain's efficiency by his Confirmation results. On one occasion at an historical dinner, when the 7th Fusiliers were celebrating one of the great anniversaries of the Peninsular War, the Colonel of the regiment made a touching allusion to the fact that the Bishop, who was the principal guest of the evening, was the son of one of the officers of their regiment who had fallen on that memorable day. It was his wish, if God so willed it, to be laid to his last earthly rest in a soldiers' cemetery.

No account of the life of this remarkable man would be complete without some reference to his work for the Anglo-Indian community. Before coming to India he had no conception of the numbers and importance of the Anglo-Indian community from a Church point of view. He writes of his surprise in the following language :—

"I imagined Calcutta to be a large city, occupied by European officials and merchants; with the soldiers in the fort and sailors by the river-side, but with no poverty strictly so called, except among the natives, who would, of course, be cut off from us by barriers of language, religion,

and caste. . . . I need not say that such anticipations have been entirely falsified by the reality; there can be no city where, from the strange mingling of inhabitants, of English and East Indians, descendants of the old Portuguese settlers or of the slaves whom they imported, of traders from all parts of the world, the Church's work is more imperative or more difficult. For, in dealing with these classes, the Clergy have to encounter faults and peculiarities to which in England they are unaccustomed. From early marriages and frequent deaths, they find families in strange and unnatural relations; widows who have hardly ceased to be girls, stepmothers charged with the care of their husbands' children before they are well able to take care of themselves. Many are the hindrances too which an Indian sun and an enervating climate interpose between us and the energetic discharge of our duties: but we know that our high calling must carry us through these and even greater difficulties, that we must never forget that the same voice which said to Saul, 'Why persecutest thou Me?' will say to any one of us, 'Why neglectest thou Me?' if through our indifference those for whom Christ has died are left in misery and ignorance."

Careful investigations were made under his instruction, throughout India, of the needs of the neglected Eurasians, and he soon realised, what so many have realised since then, that the best way of helping them is by giving them good schools. "He saw that if there could be one thing fatal to the spread of Christianity, it was the sight of a generation of unchristian, uncared-for Englishmen, springing up in the midst of a heathen population. He felt that, if there could be one thing subversive of our Indian Empire, it was the spectacle of a generation of natives highly educated, and trained in missionary and Government schools, side by side with an increasing population of ignorant and degraded Europeans."

The foundations of extended Anglo-Indian education were laid in the Thanksgiving Services for the restoration of peace on July 18, 1859. The Bishop himself preached a notable sermon in his Cathedral in Calcutta, taking for his text the latter part of Romans xii. 21, and for the title of the sermon, "The Christian Victory over Evil." He dwelt on the restoration of British supremacy and security in India as an overwhelming responsibility cast

upon England, and exhorted his congregation to be stirred by recollections of the past, by faithfulness for the present, by hopes for the future, by the memory of the brave and good who had gone. He pleaded for the work they were inaugurating that day amongst the Anglo-Indian community as a means to the great end of guiding professing Christians to make their Christianity a reality in a heathen land. The collections throughout the Diocese of Calcutta on that memorable day amounted to over half a lakh of rupees, towards which the Viceroy and Lady Canning contributed eleven hundred pounds. In all his efforts to improve the Anglo-Indian education, Bishop Cotton was helped very fully by Lord Canning, whose admirable minute on this subject can be read in Bishop Cotton's Memoirs.

A Board of Education was also formed by the Bishop to take an extensive view of this question of Anglo-Indian education and to keep Government in touch with their needs. The first school actually started by the Bishop is one which bears his name in Simla to-day. The Bishop, noticing that there were some admirable schools for Anglo-Indians and Europeans in Calcutta, Lucknow, and other plain stations, felt the need of a really good school in the hills, and took the keenest personal interest in everything connected with the starting and working of the Bishop Cotton School at Simla. When first started it was located at Jutogh, a few miles out of Simla, and now a military station. The ground, however, was not sufficiently large for the purpose, and a short time afterwards it was moved to its present admirable site. Its first Headmaster the Rev. S. Slater, was specially selected by the Bishop. Recalling his own experiences as Headmaster of Marlborough, he was determined to give the Headmaster of Bishop Cotton School as free a hand as possible. He felt, and rightly, that if a man was fit to be put in charge of a school, he was fit to be trusted.

In 1864, after a great deal of careful consideration, St. Paul's School in Calcutta, which had been started more than thirty years before by Bishop Corrie, when Archdeacon of Calcutta, was moved up to Darjeeling, where it has been located for nearly sixty years. Later on the Bishop's Board of Education acquired a large private school at Mussoorie from a Mr. Maddock, at a cost of twelve thousand pounds, so that in a comparatively short time the Bishop had been

instrumental in establishing no less than three schools in the Himalayas. Everywhere throughout India his Board of Education were engaged either in starting schools or suggesting to local committees in various places how best to start schools. Nagpur, the capital of the Central Provinces, was one of many places where a Church school for Anglo-Indians was started during this period.

While interested so deeply in the education of the Anglo-Indian, Bishop Cotton's mind was constantly dwelling on missionary plans for the extension of the Kingdom of Christ in India. He was anxious that missionary work should be started in Assam, which could be linked up with our S.P.G. Missions in Burma and down to the Straits Settlements. His visits to Burma made it clear to him that without a separate Bishop the work in Burma could never really flourish. He was also anxious that an Assistant-Bishop should be appointed somewhere up country to exercise more watchful care over the North-West Provinces.

During Bishop Cotton's period a difficulty arose which many Bishops in India have experienced, but which is now practically settled. It sometimes happened that Scottish regiments were located in places where there was only a Church of England Church. In the legal deed of consecration of such Churches it was clearly laid down that these Church of England Churches were to be used for Church of England services and for nothing else. It was felt by many to be a great hardship that a Church built partly by private subscription and partly by Government could not be used occasionally for Presbyterian or Nonconformist services. Bishop Cotton adopted a rather liberal view of his powers in this matter, and arranged that under certain conditions these Churches could be loaned to Scottish regiments for parade services at times when not needed for the Church of England services.

Bishop Cotton was a great letter-writer. No one can read his life without being struck by his quite remarkable gifts of succinct expression and vivid and accurate description of anything he wrote about. At times he could be delicately sarcastic. He spoke of a certain Colonel, who was a very aggressive Evangelical, in the following terms: "Colonel —— is most edifying on the Afghan War, and very much the reverse on baptismal regeneration."

Eight years of hard and exacting work in a trying

climate had been completed when the Bishop started away on August 1, 1866, for a tour in Assam. Of late the Bishop's mind had often turned to England, but under the statutory terms of his appointment it was impossible for him to return to England before ten years of service in India. Had he done so, he would have been compelled to resign.

The Bishop was accompanied on this tour in Assam by his wife and a Mr. Vallings, Secretary to the S.P.G. Dr. Powell was in medical charge of the party, which also included Mr. Woodrow, an Inspector of Government Schools, and his wife. The party, after an extensive journey up the Brahmaputra, came down by river to Dacca, which they reached early in September. After the visit to Dacca was over they entered the Surma Valley and visited Sylhet.

Assam, as is well known, is the land of tea-planters, and on a certain Saturday afternoon in October, the Bishop, who was far from well, left the Government steamer for the consecration of a cemetery. He expected to return by seven o'clock in the evening to dine, and then to leave for Calcutta by the night train. At the Service of Consecration he gave, as was his custom, a short extempore address: "In words prepared, and recorded by the very few to whom he last spoke, the Bishop reminded his hearers that such consecrations were for the benefit of the living, not of the dead; departed souls suffered no injuries if their bodies were left in a desert place, or on a field of battle, or in any other way were unable to receive the rites of burial; that the solemn ceremony of consecration was to enable the living in a better manner to pay the last tribute of affection, and to retain a more solemn and permanent impression of the awful truths which give eternal importance to the questions of life and death." After the service was over, he lingered to discuss some ecclesiastical arrangements with the very few residents of the small station, and twilight was fast passing into darkness when he reached the river-bank. Owing to currents, churs (sand-banks), and the precipitous nature of the bank, it was impossible to bring any vessel up close. The *Rhotas*, his steamer, was lying in full stream; an intervening flat was at anchor between it and the shore, and this flat the Bishop prepared to reach. But, "between himself and all to which he was looking forward as perhaps still to be permitted to him in this world, unfinished work and fresh-formed plans, active labour yet for a space in

India, dawning hopes of England and English friends; between himself and all except the Master he had striven faithfully to serve, there lay many yards of the rapid-rolling river." Somewhere on the perilous causeway of planks bridging the waters his foot slipped; he fell, and was never more seen. The increasing darkness, an unsteady platform, his near sight, the weariness of a frame enfeebled for the time by fever, had all doubtless a share, humanly speaking, in the great calamity foreknown in the counsels of Him "who moves in a mysterious way." Every effort was made to rescue or recover him: all who are acquainted with the current of an Indian river well know how infinitely slight would be the chance of success in the one endeavour or the other.

There were those to whose lips, on hearing the mournful tidings, the simple Bible words arose: "And Enoch walked with God, and he was not, for God took him."

Thus passed away this remarkable man at a time when beyond dispute his powers were at their highest. That he had accomplished a great work during his eight years in India no one can doubt for a moment. From the first he had watched with intense interest the intellectual movement amongst the educated Hindus. He had looked carefully into the teachings of the once famous Keshab Chandar Sen, the founder of the Brahmo Samaj. When others in England had been captivated by this remarkable man, Bishop Cotton with keen insight had detected the vital weakness in his teachings and had seen that, whatever else it was, it was not Christianity. He had done what no one else has ever done, or can ever do, in helping forward the work amongst Anglo-Indians in India. He had also won in a quite remarkable way the entire confidence of the Government of India. They clearly felt that any opinion expressed by Cotton was one which was sure to be wise and backed by the soundest reasons.

We may conclude this brief account of the Bishop's life by the Order in Council issued from Simla by the Governor-General when the news of his tragic death became known. It runs as follows:—

"There is scarcely a member of the entire Christian community throughout India who will not feel the premature loss of this prelate as a personal affliction. It has rarely been given to any body of Christians, in any country, to

witness such depth of learning and variety of accomplishment combined with piety so earnest and energy so untiring. His Excellency in Council does not hesitate to add the expression of his belief that large numbers, even among those of Her Majesty's subjects in India who did not share in the faith of the Bishop of Calcutta, had learned to appreciate his great knowledge, his sincerity, and his charity, and will join in lamenting his death."

CHAPTER XVII

BISHOP MILMAN, A GREAT EVANGELIST, 1867—1876

BOOKS OF REFERENCE.—*Memoir of Robert Milman, D.D.*, by his sister, Frances Maria Milman.

ROBERT MILMAN, who succeeded Bishop Cotton as Metropolitan of India, was a true missionary. If Bishop Cotton was great as an educationist, Bishop Milman was equally great as an evangelist. Some missionary Bishops have won great reputation as organisers of work, as builders of Churches, as educationists and linguists, but with Robert Milman it was the preaching of the living Word which absorbed almost the whole of his attention. He was constantly touring during his Episcopate, but he never visited any place where he did not seize the opportunity of proclaiming the everlasting Gospel.

The third son of Sir William George Milman, Baronet, of Landeon, in the county of Devon, he was born on St. Paul's Day, January 25, 1816, and it is not too much to say that the spirit of the great Apostle entered into him and remained there during a life which lasted just sixty years. He inherited from his father, who was an accomplished man and an excellent linguist, his great power of acquiring languages. From his mother, to whom he was devotedly attached, he received his fervent piety and strong faith. Her early influence and devout life made a deep and lasting impression on her boy. Like Bishop Cotton, he received his education at Westminster School, but as a day scholar. From there he went to Oxford, obtaining a scholarship at Exeter College, and taking a Second class in 1837. After leaving College, he went with his parents and some of the younger members of the family for a tour on the Continent, and spent a winter in Rome. The Bishop used to speak in later years of how he drove his father with the same English horse in an old-fashioned gig the whole way from the French coast to Naples and back.

He was ordained in 1839. Two years later, on the nomination of his uncle, who was afterwards the famous Dean of St. Paul's, he was presented to a living in Berkshire. Here he laid the foundations of his life of self-devotion ; labouring diligently amongst his people, the Church bell daily sounding for prayers in accordance with the rule of the Church which he especially loved to see obeyed. He was always a most generous giver, and it is an open secret that when Bishop of Calcutta he gave away a large part of his income. When speaking on alms-giving one day to a friend who was in the habit of giving away a tenth of his income, the future Bishop remarked, " It is an excellent rule, but it was the Jewish rule, not Christ's rule." He himself gave away a good many tenths of his possessions. His physical powers were extraordinary. All through his life he never cared to spend more than four or five hours in bed. He used to read frequently far into the night. On one occasion, after reading an account of the death of a distinguished man whose illness and death were stated to have been caused by over-work at night, the future Bishop determined to mend his ways and to go to bed early. After a fortnight's trial he gave it up as a bad job, and returned to his old custom of late hours, which he continued, wonderful to relate, throughout his life in India. He had much of the poet and artist in his composition, with a great love of the beautiful both in nature and art. This, combined with a keen sense of humour, made him a most attractive companion.

His first literary effort was a small book of *Meditation on Confirmation*, which attracted a good deal of attention. This was followed by the *Mystery of Marking*, an allegory illustrating Baptism ; other allegories of a religious nature followed these early efforts. He was a good Italian scholar, and published in 1850 a Life of Tasso, rendering some of the smaller fragments of his poetry into beautiful English verse. After he was ordained he acquired German, that he might read the many theological books written in that language. He was a good horseman and a man of indomitable courage.

In 1851 he exchanged his living for the less valuable but far larger and more populous parish of Lambourne, in the same county. Here he spent eleven years, toiling night and day to reform one of the wildest and most neglected parishes in the Diocese of Oxford. During his time at Lambourne he wrote a beautiful exposition of the 53rd chapter of Isaiah,

entitled, *The Life of the Atonement*, and in 1853 brought out a work on Pomerania, an historical sketch of the twelfth century, which was for a long time recommended as a book of stu dy for the Schools at Oxford.

Bishop Milman was regarded as an exceptionally good preacher. It was remarked of him by one well qualified to judge : " I have never heard such a speaker as Mr. Milman ; there was so much ability and depth in all he said ; such fresh first-hand learning ; such feeling and earnestness ! " He appeared familiar with all the histories, philosophy, and religious life of the middle ages. When he was appointed to the Bishopric of Calcutta Bishop Wilberforce of Oxford wrote as follows : " I have just heard of your appointment to Calcutta : a great loss to me and an irreparable loss so far as I can see ; but for India and the widest Church interests everything. . . . I do infinitely rejoice with all my selfish sorrow that you are going out to so great a calling." At a meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, before Bishop Milman left for India, Bishop Wilberforce spoke of Milman's peculiar power of influencing for good the most opposite classes of social life, the higher, the middle, the poorer.

Bishop Milman was consecrated Bishop of Calcutta on February 2, 1867. The ceremony took place in Canterbury Cathedral. He was accompanied to India by his sister, to whom he was devoted. She lived with him throughout the whole of his time there, and afterwards wrote his memoirs. From the commencement of his Indian career he set himself to study several of the Indian languages—Bengali, Hindi, and Urdu, and, what is more, mastered them thoroughly. In 1835 the Calcutta Diocese had been relieved of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, but by the year 1867 the Punjab, Central Provinces, Oudh, and Burma had been added to it, so that it was at that time a larger diocese than before.

To speak of the Bishop's many tours would be impossible. They are described so graphically by his sister in his memoirs that it is unnecessary for us to do so. Together with his great evangelical zeal the Bishop was a lover of the society of good men, and most hospitable. From the start he and his sister entertained largely all sorts and conditions of men. Norman McCleod, the well-known Scottish divine, when visiting Calcutta about this time, spoke of the remarkable

social gatherings at the Bishop's Palace, and considered that the influence they exercised in drawing people together was something quite unique in all that he had seen in India.

The Bishop's relations with his Clergy were most pleasant, but no one could correct and mend their doings more thoroughly than could he if necessary. He spoke on one occasion in a humorous fashion of a habit which some of them had of sending him telegrams. He remarked, "When certain people wish to do something which their conscience disapproves of, they send me a telegram." During the ten years of his Episcopate he had two Domestic Chaplains, both of whom made their mark later on in the Church at home. His first Chaplain, the Rev. R. Burge, was father of the present Bishop of Oxford. His second Chaplain, Edwin Jacob, was afterwards Bishop of St. Albans.

Perhaps the greatest event in his Episcopate was his receiving a large number of Kol Christians into the Anglican Communion at Ranchi, the headquarters of Chota-Nagpur. The facts which led to the Bishop's action are fully described in a subsequent chapter on the Diocese of Chota-Nagpur. Suffice it to say that in the year 1845 a body of six German Lutheran missionaries were sent by Pastor Gossner from Berlin to India. Their steps were eventually led to Chota-Nagpur. At the time of the Indian Mutiny these pioneers had gathered out from among the heathen about a thousand converts. During the Mutiny work was interrupted, but when law and order were restored they continued their good work for some years longer, gathering together a large number of Kol converts. Then their real troubles began. Younger German missionaries of a more educated type were sent out to the mission who, sad to relate, looked down on these simple pioneers for their lack of culture. They went even further, and accused them of misappropriation of funds and other misdemeanours. Gossner was now dead, and the Committee he had appointed in Berlin, to whom the old missionaries appealed, sided with the younger men. The old men soon found that there was no longer a place for them in the mission which they had founded.

In their distress they appealed to Bishop Milman, who at once visited Ranchi. Before taking any action he consulted with both the old and young missionaries to see whether nothing could be done to patch up their disagreement. He also learnt from the leading British officials at

Ranchi of the really sound character and devotion of the older men and of the unfair treatment which had been meted out to them by the younger missionaries. He was waited upon by several leaders of the Kol converts, who implored him to take them and the old missionaries into the English Church. After duly consulting the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, who promised to assist him in the undertaking, he decided to accede to the request of the older missionaries and their adherents.

Sunday March 18, 1869, was a great day at Ranchi, when the Bishop ordained several of the old Lutheran missionaries and received over into the English Church by Confirmation hundreds of their Kol converts.

It is impossible in the short space available adequately to describe the prolonged negotiations and conferences which had taken place before the Bishop took the decided action. One thing is certain: he acted throughout in the most deliberate manner, and once he had acted was absolutely clear that his action was justified.

Later on during his Episcopate he had a somewhat similar experience in Burma, where a large number of Karen Christians who had broken away from a Baptist Mission asked to be received into our Church. Again the Bishop acted with extreme deliberation, and again decided that, as the people were genuinely anxious to be received into our Church, there was no solid ground for refusing to accede to their request. Although the Bishop's action was again questioned, he was to the end of his life satisfied that he had acted under the guidance of the Spirit of God.

Without being in the least aggressive, Bishop Milman was a man of quiet judgment and iron will. One could devote pages, as his sister has done, to a description of his visits to various parts of his great charge. He was greatly fascinated by Burma, and his visits to that attractive country are described most fully. In those days Dr. Marks, one of our best-known missionaries in Burma, was just commencing his work. He had already gained considerable influence over King Mindon at Mandalay, who had promised to build for him at the royal expense a Church, a mission house and a school. Bishop Milman, while fully understanding Dr. Mark's delight at the friendliness of the King, more than once reminded him of the Psalmist's warning against "putting confidence in princes."

Bishop Milman was what may best be described as an old-fashioned High Churchman. Keenly interested himself in theological questions, he was continually pressing on his Clergy the need for theological study.

Looking out on his great diocese and its need for more labourers, he was most anxious to have teaching Brotherhoods and Sisterhoods established in various parts of India, more especially for work amongst the Anglo-Indian community. Like his predecessor, he took a deep interest in the Eurasian problem, and looked forward to the time when there would be a large Eurasian Ministry in the country.

With regard to the need for workers in India, he writes in the year 1873 in the following manner in his journal on his Visitation: "There seems a good opening here for mission work. Alas! for our lack of men and mission spirit in England, especially with regard to India: it is heart-breaking."

Finding so little answer to his petitions for help from England, he turned to America, and sent an appeal to the Board of Missions of the Episcopal Church in the United States. "I have long experienced," he wrote, "a strong desire to appeal to the Church in America on behalf of the mission work in my diocese and province. A letter from the Rev. J. Long, an old and dear friend who has recently visited America, has encouraged me now to carry out my intention. The future of the world also is so much to all appearance in the hands of America, that I feel myself bound to make no longer delay." When will our Sister Church in the United States realise that she is needed in India?

Like his predecessor, the Bishop was keenly interested in all religious movements in India. From the start he seems to have realised that the Brahmo Samaj movement, however interesting, was not going to end in Christianity. His views on the question of the baptism of non-Christian men and women who were polygamists were not those which were expressed later at the Lambeth Conference. He saw no reason why a Hindu or Mahomedan who had legally married more than one wife under their own religious and social customs, which made such marriages absolutely natural and right to them, should be debarred from Christian baptism. Nor did he think that any man who had married more than one wife under these systems was justified in the sight of God in repudiating his obligations. He was prepared to

baptise such people, only stipulating that after baptism no fresh marriages should take place during the lifetime of any of these wives.

More than once during his Episcopate he met his two brother Bishops of Madras and Bombay in Synod. Their first meeting was at Bombay, and their second at Nagpur, the present capital of the Central Provinces. On the latter occasion a most important discussion took place between them regarding the appointment of Assistant-Bishops to superintend the large and growing Christian congregations in Tinnevelly. At that time there were large numbers of Christians connected with the Church Missionary Society as well as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. They spoke of themselves as C.M.S. Christians and S.P.G. Christians, and regarded themselves as hardly belonging to the same Church. Bishop Gell, in his desire to have these large bodies of Christians adequately cared for, was anxious to appoint Mr. Sargent, a distinguished C.M.S. Missionary, as Bishop over the C.M.S. congregations, and Mr. Caldwell, an even more distinguished S.P.G. Missionary, as Assistant-Bishop over the S.P.G. Missions. Bishop Milman strongly opposed the principle which underlay these appointments. He considered that the principle of Missionary Society Bishops was fundamentally unsound, and could lead to nothing else but a spirit of division within the Church. For a time Bishop Gell had his way, but later on, during the Episcopate of Bishop Johnson, an assistant territorial Bishop, entitled the Bishop of Tinnevelly and Madura, was appointed for the whole of that area.

There is much in the life of Bishop Milman of which we might have spoken had space permitted. We might have told of how, in his desire to provide for the scattered European and Indian congregations, he developed in the Church the orders of Sub-Deacon and Reader. He was always conscious of the vast size of his diocese and of the importance of its adequate supervision. He felt from the start that Burma needed a Bishop of its own, and that it was impossible for him adequately to supervise the work of the Church in Upper India. It was only after his death, during the Episcopate of his successor Bishop Johnson, that both Burma and Lahore received their first Bishops. The Bishopric of Lahore was actually founded in his memory.

Nine years of arduous work in India had passed, and the Bishop had completed his sixtieth year when he started away,

at the end of February, to visit Peshawar in the North-West Frontier of India. As early as 1874 he had described "the perpetual travelling as both weary and unsettling to the work. However, it has to be done, and I hope will result in some fruit, though it is naturally difficult to see it." The journey from Calcutta to Peshawar, a distance of almost fifteen hundred miles, was a very long one in those days, owing to difficulties of transport after entering the Punjab. Peshawar, even then, was one of the largest military cantonments in India and had an important mission. Coming from the comparative warmth of Bengal into the great cold of the Punjab, and having to pass a night on the river Jhelum in a boat which had not sufficient protection against the weather, and with his food supply running short, proved too great a strain for his health.

His days in Peshawar were exceptionally full of work, but it was evident to the General, Sir Richard Pollock, with whom he was staying, that the Bishop had completely overtaxed his strength. After a busy Sunday he was compelled to take to his bed. He had literally worked himself to death in the service of his Divine Master. To use his own words: "He was determined that, as far as he was concerned, at any cost and at any sacrifice, India should be won to the Lord Jesus." On Sunday, March 5, 1876, he was prayed for in all the Churches of his diocese. He then rallied somewhat, and hopes being entertained of his recovery, he was moved to Rawal Pindi, which was thought to be a more healthy place. But his time for departing had come, and on March 15 he passed away with these words on his lips: "The glorious liberty of the children of God."

It was a simple and touching Christian funeral. He was carried on a gun-carriage to the Church, and then to the cemetery, the coffin being borne to its last resting-place by soldiers.

In recognition of the Bishop's public services the Government erected a monument in the Cathedral of Calcutta, an honour never paid to any previous Bishop. For this monument an epitaph was written by Sir Arthur Hobhouse, one of the members of Council.

Its lines are full of meaning to those who have read the journals of one who, born on St. Paul's Day, was full of that Pauline energy and burning zeal which carried him through long journeys and many toils, if it was for the saving of souls.

"The glory of God and the saving of souls were indeed his one sole aim and desire. To this great cause he unweariedly devoted himself in a spirit of utter self-abnegation that never faltered nor failed. Among the wild downs of Berkshire, in the poor and populous parish of Marlow, and again in the wider sphere of India, he pursued his missionary labours with a zeal that knew no respite, labouring incessantly for others, if only he might extend Christ's kingdom on earth, might implant the seeds of a higher life in the flocks committed to his charge, might confirm or comfort the fainting heart.

"By nature addicted to literary pursuits, and keenly sensitive to the attractions of social intercourse, he held all these things as nothing when set in the balance against the work that he had set before him, and he would abandon them without a thought to force his way through frost and snow to some distant cottage lecture or service, or to undertake a laborious journey of many days and nights, and all was done as the merest matter of course, without any consciousness of sacrifice.

"To this entire absence of self-consciousness was due too, in part no doubt, the extraordinary influence of his preaching. He spoke from the abundant treasures of his mind and heart without a thought for effect, and the words went straight to the hearts of his hearers. For the first ten years of his ministry his sermons were carefully studied and written; after that period they were always extempore, fluent, original, and striking. His public speeches showed the same eloquence. He was never at a loss for fit language in which to convey the thoughts to which he wished at the moment to give utterance."

A slight but characteristic illustration of the spirit in which every work was undertaken, "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might," may be found in the perseverance which enabled him to obtain such a mastery over many of the native languages. Entering upon their study at a time of life when the acquisition of such knowledge would to many have been most irksome, he yet worked at the rudiments of grammar and put himself into the hands of teachers like the veriest school-boy. A saying of one of those teachers that "The Bishop had learnt more about the theory of the irregular verbs than any previous pupils in so short a time," was often repeated among his friends.

If his labours were abundant, not less abundant was his

alms-giving. His hand was ever open to the relief of distress and for the furtherance of the many good works that he promoted, and he continued in India the practice which, as we have seen, he had adopted in early days, of devoting to Christ's service in His Church and in His poor a large portion of his income.

The Indian Church has had many devoted servants, but none more gifted, more humble, and more whole-hearted than Robert Milman.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE DIOCESE OF LAHORE, 1877

Bishops

1. Thomas Valpy French, consecrated 1877; resigned 1887; died 1891.
2. Henry James Mathew, consecrated 1888; died 1898.
3. George Alfred Lefroy, consecrated 1899; transferred to Calcutta 1913; died 1919.
4. Henry Bickersteth Durrant, consecrated 1913.

Books of Reference.—*Life of Thomas Valpy French, Bishop of Lahore*, by Herbert Birks; *Life of George Alfred Lefroy*, by Bishop Montgomery; *Allnutt of Delhi; The Story of the Delhi Mission; Thirty Years of Missionary Work in the Punjab; The Missions of the C.M.S. and C.E.Z.M.S., with Punjab and Scindh*, by Robert Clark; *Rowland Bateman*, by R. Maconachie, I.C.S.; *Pennell of the Afghan Border*, by A. M. Pennell; *A Life of A.L.O.E.; Two Hundred Years of S.P.G.; Beyond the Pir Panjal*, by Dr. Ernest Neve.

THERE is certainly no diocese of the Anglican Communion which has a history more strikingly interesting than that of Lahore. Some day we hope that the right person will come forward to tell this history fully. Like most of the Indian Dioceses, it embraces a huge amount of country, and that of a very varied type. The kernel of the diocese is of course the Punjab, with the enclave of Delhi, but to this must be added the desert country of Scindh and the hill countries of Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier Province. The Bishop is also responsible for the Episcopal supervision of Kashmir, and, until an Anglican Bishop was recently appointed to Persia, was supposed to visit the Persian Gulf and the different English communities in that neighbourhood.

The Lahore Diocese embraces lands which have from time immemorial been the scenes of invasion and bloody battles. Long before the days when Alexander the Great led his victorious Greek army across Afghanistan to the centre of the Punjab, other invaders had come the same way from Central Asia, and had met with heroic resistance from the inhabitants of those regions. Nor is there any part of

India which holds such wonderful memories for the British race as does the Punjab. There many of her great soldiers and statesmen passed years of their lives and learned their first lessons in war and administration. It is in that part of India that the Lawrences, Sir Herbert Edwardes, Sir Robert Montgomery, Lord Gough, Sir John Nicholson, and Lord Roberts first became famous. It is for the Church also a region of which she may be justly proud. It had happened more than once in her Missionary history that when great opportunities were offered to her of pressing through open doors, she failed to take them either for lack of men, or means, or zeal. In the Punjab, however, it was quite different. Hardly had the Second Sikh War, which brought the Punjab under British rule, terminated in 1849, than various appeals were made to the Church Missionary Society to start missionary work in this fascinating country.

One of the first of these appeals came from a British officer who had taken part in these wars. He backed his appeal by a generous gift of 10,000 rupees, a large sum for a poor man. Within a generation the whole of the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Scindh, Baluchistan, and Kashmir were dotted over with well-staffed Anglican Missions. Beginning at Amritsar, they spread in every direction, and within less than a generation all important places which were not previously held in strength by Presbyterian Missions were occupied by the Church Missionary Society. During the fifty years which lie between 1850 and 1900 no less than 150 missionaries, not including missionary wives, worked for various periods in this interesting field. Some of these missionaries were amongst the ablest and most devoted whom the English Church has ever sent across the seas. It is not easy to mention names without stating that there are other names unmentioned which might well have been included. Robert Clarke, Rowland Bateman, Gordon of Afghan fame, Sarah C. Tucker (A.L.O.E.); Dr. Elmslie, the two doctor brothers Neve, Dr. Starr, famous medical missionaries; Tyndale Biscoe, Pennell of the Afghan Frontier; Lefroy, Allnutt, Carlyon, and other members of the Cambridge Mission at Delhi (the only S.P.G. Mission in the diocese), are just a few of this great company of gallant men and women who have laboured for two generations to bring the Punjab to Christ.

That there was an element of danger in their work seemed to make it all the more attractive. When it was first suggested that a mission should be started in Peshawar on the Afghan Frontier, a leading civilian of a rather sceptical turn of mind stated that in his opinion every missionary should be armed with a revolver. Strange to say, the individual who made this remark was himself the victim of a Ghazi outrage.

Possibly the Punjab would have remained without a Bishop for some time longer had it not been for the tragic death of Bishop Milman. That keen evangelist and missionary finished his devoted life at Rawal Pindi. He had left Calcutta (as already stated, page 250) in February 1876 to visit the Punjab. Though sixty years of age, he was still a strong and active man. Unfortunately, in crossing one of the Punjab rivers by night, there was a break-down in the transport arrangements, as well as a shortage of food. Hardships connected with fatigue and exposure proved too much even for him, and though he carried on for a few weeks longer, he did so as a dying man. To-day his grave may be seen in Rawal Pindi, a memento of the vast size of the Calcutta Diocese of those days. The Diocese of Lahore was founded in his memory.

No diocese, one can truly say, has ever had a succession of more devoted and gifted men for its Bishops than has the Diocese of Lahore. Its first Bishop, Thomas Valpy French, was unquestionably one of the greatest missionaries our Church has ever produced. In some respects he reminds one of the Apostle Paul. His gift for languages was so remarkable that he was known by the natives as the seven-tongued Padre. His capacity for work was almost superhuman, and he literally loved to endure hardness. Often during his missionary journeys, when he might have been comfortably housed in some official residence, he preferred to be in a serai with the natives of India. His missionary work lasted for no less than twenty-eight years. During the Mutiny of 1857 he was a missionary at Agra, where he was in charge of an important Divinity School. Like the rest of the Europeans in that station, he made for the Fort when the signals in the form of warning guns were fired, and brought with him his Christian students. When he was informed that, as there was some doubt about their loyalty, they would not be kept in the Fort, he at once elected to

depart with them. Sir Auckland Colvin, however, would not hear of this, and so the students remained and did most valuable work.

At the time when he was called to undertake the charge of the new Diocese of Lahore, he was at home in England, almost worn out with heavy toil. He felt, however, that it was his duty to respond to this unexpected and unsought-for call, and for ten years presided over the new diocese. Then, when his Cathedral (a very handsome building designed by Sir Gilbert Scott) had been built and the work of the new diocese had been organised, he felt that the time had come when he might resign, and be free to take up a work which he long desired to do. A great Arabic scholar, he had for years longed to preach the Gospel in regions where the name of Christ has not been heard for centuries. His appeal for workers to accompany him on this mission fell on deaf ears, and as no one was ready to go with him he went alone, and finished his heroic life in a tent at Muscat, in Arabia. Certainly every one who is interested in missions ought to read his Life.

His successor, Henry James Mathew, a Government Chaplain, was perhaps one of the finest preachers our Church has ever had in India. Some still remember the wonderful way in which he drew men and women to the cross.

After his death George Alfred Lefroy, the second Head of the Cambridge Mission at Delhi, succeeded him, and for fourteen years presided over the Lahore Diocese. He, like the first Bishop of Lahore, was one of our really great missionaries, who had been dedicated from early days to the missionary life. We owe a debt of gratitude to Bishop Montgomery for having given us such a full and interesting record of a really great man—great in action, great in counsel, and great in suffering.

Of the present Bishop of Lahore, it is enough to say that he first made his mark as an educational missionary in the United Provinces, and for some time as Principal of St. John's College, Agra, one of the finest Colleges of its kind in India. During those days, when doubtless he had ample time for reading and thinking, he laid in an immense store of learning which has made him perhaps the most gifted preacher which our Church has in India.

To tell of all the varied work and to speak of the many missionaries who have been men quite out of the ordinary

type, would be impossible within the limits of this chapter. There is much to tell of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi and not a few of its devoted members, a short history of which has fortunately been written. There is much we can learn from the lives of its three first Heads, Bickersteth, Lefroy, and Allnutt, which can fortunately be read in the memoirs which we now possess. No one who has the opportunity should fail to read the heroic life of Pennell of the Afghan Border, who was certainly one of the most learned and daring of medical missionaries our Church has ever seen. It used to be said of him that Pennell in his Pathan dress could go to places amongst the Frontier tribes where a regiment of British soldiers could not go without serious fighting ; and go unharmed.

One story illustrative of his daring may be told briefly. Pennell had made a convert of one young tribesman, and had baptised him. One night his compound was invaded and the convert was carried away by his fellow-tribesmen. Pennell knew what this meant—either death or apostasy. The tribesmen had got several hours' start of him, but he knew the regions for which they would make. Going alone and travelling all day, he came to a village after dark which was familiar to him, and late at night made his way to the village mosque. He was almost certain that the fugitives would spend the night within its precincts, and he was not mistaken. There in the court-yard of the mosque lay sleeping the captors and the captive. Like the Angel who came to deliver St. Peter from prison on the eve of his execution, Pennell slowly approached his convert, awakened him, and carried him back to Bannu. It is a little story which illustrates the extraordinary daring and devotion of this great missionary. That the Lahore Diocese is still the home of heroic spirits was again made clear to us but a short time ago. Hardly had all India heard with horror of the dastardly murder of Mrs. Ellis and the abduction of her daughter across the Frontier, than we were reading with admiration of the brilliant plan of the Chief Commissioner, Sir James Maffey, for her rescue, and of Mrs. Starr's perilous journey with an Indian political officer into the heart of the Afridi country. Some of our readers may not know that this brave lady is working as a nurse in the C.M.S. Hospital at Peshawar—in the same city where her devoted husband, the late Dr. Starr, a medical missionary, was

brutally murdered a few years ago by the relatives of a former patient.

Every one who can should read the Life of Rowland Bateman, who for thirty years worked in the Punjab. They should also read the Life of Charlotte Tucker, better known as A.L.O.E., who, coming to the Punjab when fifty-four years of age, worked uninterruptedly in the missionary cause for eighteen years without once going home. No less deserving of honour are the names of some of our more distinguished modern Punjab missionaries—men like Canon Edward Guilford of Tarn Taran, who has done wonderful work amongst lepers, and of Tyndale Biscoe, who has wrought wonders amongst the youth of Kashmir. His annual reports are amongst the most interesting publications the Church possesses.

Some mention should be made of Mass Movements in the Lahore Diocese. These movements have taken place chiefly in the Canal Colonies of the Punjab, and have drawn into the fold of the Church over 20,000 people. They are a people with great virility, and it may be hoped are the first-fruits of a really great Christian movement.

The domiciled community of the Punjab is of course not so numerous as in Madras and Calcutta, but it is strongly represented in Lahore itself, where two Railway Chaplains minister to the community numbering three or four thousand.

The problem of European education has been tackled, so the present Bishop writes, with much energy and a fair measure of success. There are two great Lawrence Schools, one at Sanawar, with 250 boys and 250 girls on its rolls ; and one at Murree, with about 250 boys and 100 girls, both of which are doing priceless work. Hitherto the Principal of each of these schools has been an ordained priest of the Church of England, though there is nothing in the charter of either school guaranteeing the continuance of this arrangement.

The Diocese of Lahore has now got a big scheme in hand for building a great Girls' School to accommodate 300 girls on the site of St. Denys' School, Murree. When completed the original idea was that the girls at present in the Lawrence School at Murree should be transferred to this new school, leaving room in the Boys' School for a large number of boys already on the waiting list. Auckland House, Simla, recently rebuilt and containing over 100 girls, has done first-

class work in providing education of a high grade for girls, most of whom in less stringent times would have been sent to schools in England. It is interesting to note that the present educational policy of the diocese, in line with that of Government, is to concentrate the education of European children in Hill Schools.

In the matter of education for girls the diocese owes a great debt to the Society of St. Hilda, a Society of lady workers founded by Bishop Mathew during his lifetime. At present over twenty very highly qualified ladies in connection with this Society are working in the Girls' Schools of the diocese, and the work that they have done in raising the standard of girls' education is beyond all praise.

Provision for the training of teachers is made in Sanawar, where there is a Training College for Men Teachers. Church of England girls, who wish for training as teachers have to go to the Roman Catholic Training College at St. Bede's, Simla, where Church of England girls form usually quite half of the number of students. The arrangement, while in theory not ideal, has so far worked admirably in practice. The training of Kindergarten teachers is undertaken at the Church of England Schools, St. Denys', Murree, which is also staffed by ladies of St. Hilda's Society.

"Another feature of Church work in the Lahore Diocese," so the Bishop writes, "is the provision of spiritual ministrations to the extraordinarily fine body of officers, both civil and military, who are serving on the North-West Frontier. These are comparatively few in number and are in remote and scattered outposts, so that ministry to them is a difficult problem. There is one Chaplain for the whole of the Derajat, comprising three stations—Kohat, Bannu, and Dera Ismail Khan—each being eighty or ninety miles by road from the other. The advent of the motor-car has, however, brought the work of this important Chaplaincy more within the compass of one's power."

We are fully conscious that we have but touched the fringe of the splendid work which is being carried on in this diocese. How true this is will be realised when we mention the fact that the Lahore Diocese contains more than half of the British Army in India, and that places like Rawal Pindi and Peshawar are in many respects like Aldershot. Working amongst these British troops and officers are thirty-five able and devoted Chaplains, some of whom did splendid

work in France and Mesopotamia during the Great War. The provision of Soldiers' Homes and Institutes has always been a marked feature in the work of this diocese. There are no places at present of any importance where these Homes are not to be found, either provided by the Church or by Miss Sandes, the Soldiers' Friend.

CHAPTER XIX

THE DIOCESE OF RANGOON, 1877

BISHOPS

1. JONATHAN HOLT TITCOMB, consecrated 1877; resigned 1882; died 1887.
2. JOHN MILLER STRACHAN, consecrated 1882; resigned 1902; died 1909.
3. ARTHUR MESAC KNIGHT, consecrated 1903; resigned 1909.
4. ROLLESTONE STERRITT FYFFE, consecrated in St. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta, on the 2nd Sunday after Epiphany, 1910.

BOOKS OF REFERENCE.—*Christian Missions in Burma*, by the Rev. W. C. B. Purser; *The Life of Judson* (Wayland); *The Burman, his Life and Notions* (Shway Yeo—Sir George Scott); *Burma: A Handbook of Information* (Sir George Scott); *Burma through the Centuries* (Stuart); *Legend of Gaudama* (Bishop Bigandet); *The Soul of a People* (Fielding Hall); *Forty Years in Burma*, by the Rev. Dr. Marks.

TWO of the dioceses which go to make up the ecclesiastical province of India are strangely unlike the remaining eleven. Territorially neither Rangoon nor Colombo is even a part of India, and while the bulk of the inhabitants of the Indian Peninsula are Hindus by religion, both Burma and Ceylon are essentially Buddhist countries. If, however, there is a racial resemblance between the Sinhalese of Ceylon and the Tamils of South India, both being Dravidians, there is certainly not the faintest kinship between the Burman and any of the distinctively Indian races. For the Burman is a Mongol through and through, and to find his relatives you must go East and North to China, Japan, and Tibet.

Burma is now under the Government of India, and is the largest and most wealthy province of the Indian Empire. Its wealth consists in its unrivalled rice cultivation, its vast forests of teak and other timber, its endless supply of oil, and its other minerals. Its ruby mines are famous throughout the East. Unlike India, the monsoon has never been known to fail in Lower Burma, which means that a certain and generally enormous crop of rice comes as a yearly gift from Providence, much of which can be exported. One of

the sights of Burma unquestionably is to be seen on its great river Irrawaddy, where hundreds of huge rafts of timber, with their care-takers on board living in small huts, drift down-stream for hundreds of miles from Upper Burma to the sea at Rangoon.

The Burmese are believed to have come down from Tibet, and it is interesting to note that the other indigenous races of Burma, such as Chins, Kachins, Karens, and Shans, are also Mongols, and have the same characteristic features and speak the same monosyllabic and agglutinative language.

They are a bright, laughter-loving people, friendly and cheery, when they are not misled and provoked. Their bright-coloured dresses and flamboyant art reflect their character. Probably there is no more picturesque sight in the world than a Burmese religious festival or holiday crowd. They are, however, excitable and hasty-tempered, tremendous gamblers, and lacking in perseverance. When angered too they are apt to be very cruel. Their standard of literacy is about four times as high as that of India, and so, strange to relate, is their rate of criminality.

No one who visits Burma can fail to be impressed by the picturesque Buddhist monasteries with their pagoda-like spires which are to be seen outside most of the villages in the country. Their yellow-robed monks are amongst the most familiar sight in the country, and may still be seen patrolling the streets of Rangoon and Mandalay, with their begging-bowls in their hands. Few will be found to praise these " hpongyis " as a class, for they lead lazy lives, are seldom learned, and are too often violent political partisans. It must be admitted, however, that they are largely responsible for the comparatively high standard of literacy in Burma, and the sight of the small Burmese boys crowding the monasteries for their daily lessons is one not soon to be forgotten.

While Buddhism is the prevailing religion of Burma, the real ruling motive of a Burman's religious life lies elsewhere. He is a convinced believer in evil spirits, and his dread of these " nats " is not helped by his Buddhism.

Burma has apparently always attracted the dwellers in the cold and less fertile country of Tibet which lies away to the north, and from the earliest days it has been constantly invaded.

There are, we are told, ancient towns and cities dotted over Burma which once were capitals of these invaders, and

while the great port of Rangoon and picturesque Mandalay are obviously modern, even the ruined city of Pagan, one of the most interesting sights in the East, can boast only of an eleventh-century origin, which does not give it a claim to belong to the category of the ancient cities of Burma.

Our earliest English connection with Burma, as with other places in the East, goes back to the days of the Old John Company. With Burma we traded, and in Lower Burma we established a few factories. Then came a time in the early decades of the nineteenth century, when the Burmese attacked Assam, and for this act of aggression they were destined to lose Arakan and Tenasserim. A generation passed and, owing to further disputes and serious internal troubles, the country was taken over by the British in 1853 as far north as Toungoo. It was not till 1885 that the Burmese King was deposed and the whole country placed under British Administration.

We have already alluded to the fact that Burma is essentially a Buddhist country, and on Burmese Buddhism it must be admitted that up to the present Christianity has made but slight impression. The greatest of all missionaries who ever worked in Burma is unquestionably Judson, an American Baptist. A contemporary of James Carey, he had intended to devote his life to the evangelisation of India. Prevented from carrying out this idea by the East India Company's regulations at that particular time he started work in Burma more than a century ago. Undaunted by cruel imprisonment and hardships, such as few have been called on to endure, he continued his work and reaped his great reward. Not that the results achieved amongst the Buddhists have been great, for in a population of nearly twelve million Buddhists to-day, it has to be admitted that the total number of Christian converts is not more than fifteen thousand, of whom seven thousand are Baptist, six thousand are Roman Catholics and between one and two thousand are Anglicans. "One very remarkable figure stands out among the Burmese converts. It is that of a Yathe (hermit) who embraced the Christian faith. His Burmese name was Ko Tha Dun. He was baptised by the name of John Baptist in 1911, and died in 1919. At one time he was a Buddhist monk, but was so disgusted with what he saw of Buddhist monastic life that he threw it up and became an ordinary cultivator. He could not, however, suppress his longing for God or satisfy his religious perplexities, and so

he went into solitary retirement in the jungle, and there remained for many years, living in a cave hollowed out in a hillside, and fed by those who were attracted by his holy life. At length he came to hear of the Gospel and of the good work done in the name of Christ. Then he felt he had found the truth for which he had been so long searching. He became a devoted Christian teacher, retaining his strange hermit's dress and his ascetic habits to the end. He brought with him into the Church many of his disciples, one of whom, his constant companion in his journeys, could not get over the death of his beloved teacher, and actually died within a few weeks of his master's death."

If, however, missionary work amongst the Burmese Buddhists has not produced large results, it is very different with work amongst the Karens, one of the large races of Burma. Amongst them to-day there are nearly two hundred thousand Christians, of whom three-fourths are Baptist and the remainder either Anglican or Roman. We shall speak of this work more fully towards the end of the chapter.

Until the end of the Second Burmese War the English Church was represented in Burma merely by Chaplains of the East India Company or the Government of India, and it is worthy of record that the first effort to start missionary work in Burma was made by one of these Chaplains. Then came the year 1860, when Mr. J. E. Marks, a trained schoolmaster, who had done excellent work in the slums of East London, was sent by the S.P.G. to start work in Burma. He began his work at Moulmein, at the south of the Salven, one of the most picturesque places in Lower Burma. Here he continued for two years with considerable success. To give a detailed account of his remarkable missionary career is unnecessary, as Dr. Marks himself has given us all that we want to know in his *Forty Years in Burma*, edited with an admirable introduction by Mr. Purser, a well-known Burmese missionary.

On All Saints' Day, 1863, he was ordained deacon in St. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta, by Bishop Cotton, and on his return to Burma started his famous Collegiate School of St. John's, one of the most remarkable institutions in the East. Two years later St. Mary's School for Girls was also started by this most enthusiastic of educationists. Ordained to the priesthood by Bishop Cotton, Dr. Marks continued his work in Rangoon in spite of illness till 1868, when he left British

Burma and went to Mandalay at the invitation of King Mindon. Much might be said of this period of Marks' life, and it is clear now from the memoirs of Bishop Milman that, in spite of the fact of the Burmese King building a fine timber Church, school, and clergy-house for the mission, the astute monarch was entirely worldly minded and never seriously entertained the idea of becoming a Christian, and that his real motive in acting as he did was not pure philanthropy but to keep on good terms with the rulers of Lower Burma. Still, whatever King Mindon's motives were, there can be no doubt that he was much impressed by this ardent missionary, and the fact that he sent his own sons and other children of the Royal House to Dr. Marks' school was itself an evidence of the trust he placed in this remarkable man. Some of our readers may have heard Dr. Marks speak of his embarrassment when on one occasion the royal sons arrived late for school, and the whole school immediately prostrated itself when the royal youths entered the school buildings. Later on Dr. Marks was duly honoured when the Archbishop of Canterbury presented him with the Lambeth D.D. Forty years in Burma was a magnificent record, and during the remaining years of his life spent in England, the old doctor was constantly reminded, by letters and gifts from old pupils in Burma, how deeply he was honoured and loved.

The spiritual needs of Burma had constantly occupied the thoughts of both Bishops Cotton and Milman. They had realised its immense possibilities and the utter impossibility of any Bishop of Calcutta effectually supervising and promoting its work. Not, however, till the year 1877 did Burma receive its first Anglican Bishop. Like the Bishopric of Lahore, the Bishopric of Rangoon was founded in part as a memorial to Bishop Milman. Half of the endowment of the See was raised in the Winchester Diocese, which has ever since taken a special interest in Burma, the other half being raised by S.P.G., S.P.C.K., and the Colonial Bishoprics Fund. As is the case with the Bishoprics of Lahore, Lucknow, and Nagpur, the Bishop of Rangoon receives from Government the salary of a senior Chaplain and is recognised by the Government as Head of the Ecclesiastical Department in Burma. Under Bishop Titcomb, the first Bishop of Rangoon, Dr. Marks tells us, "the work of the Church in British Burma made excellent progress. He established the Rangoon Additional Clergy Society and made his influence felt all over his huge

diocese. He took special interest in the S.P.G. Orphans' Home, which he aided munificently, and at his recommendation it was called the Diocesan Orphanage for Boys." The unfortunate accident which led to his resignation took place five years after his Consecration. The path on the side of a hill on which he was walking when on tour amongst the Karen Christians gave way. A fall of twenty feet injured his spine so badly that all active work had to be abandoned. He never entirely recovered, and died a few years later in England.

He was succeeded by the Rev. J. M. Strachan, M.D., who had been a leading medical missionary in Madras for nineteen years. Like Dr. Marks, Bishop Strachan gave nearly forty years of faithful service to the East, and when he resigned the See in 1902, he had been Bishop for no less than twenty years. During the earlier years of his Episcopate much was accomplished, and among other things the Cathedral of the diocese, a handsome building, was completed.

On his resignation, when increasing years and the trying climate had already begun to sap his energy, the diocese was presided over for six happy years by the Rev. Arthur Mesac Knight, one of the ablest and most devoted of men. Fresh from Cambridge, where he was Dean of Gonville and Caius College, he attracted a number of young and able men, Chaplains and missionaries, to the diocese, and infused new life and enthusiasm into every branch of his work. It was indeed a great misfortune to the diocese as well as a bitter disappointment to Dr. Knight, when the doctors told him that he must never put foot again in a land which he loved and which loved him.

We have already alluded to the success which has crowned missionary effort amongst the Karens. Those who have read the Memoirs of Bishop Milman will recall how he was brought into contact with this work towards the end of his Episcopate. The work amongst these people was originally started by American Baptists at Toungoo, then a frontier town of British Burma. Considerable success had followed their efforts when, as a result of serious division within the Mission, Mrs. Mason, the wife of the founder, offered to hand over her followers, about six thousand in number, to the English Church, with all their schools and other mission property. The offer was made in 1870, but as Mrs. Mason was obviously a person of unbalanced judgment, the offer was refused. About that time, however, a mission was started

by S.P.G. at Toungoo for special work amongst the Burmans. Some four or five years later, when it was found that Mrs. Mason's followers were either drifting into Roman Catholicism or relapsing into paganism, and that there was no possible hope of reconciling them with the main Baptist body, Bishop Milman decided that it was the duty of our Church to receive them into our Communion, and so from 1875 we have been partly responsible for work amongst the Karens.

The mission staff has, however, never been strong enough to attempt more than the care of existing Christians, and as nearly all the villages in the neighbourhood of Toungoo are already Christians, mostly Baptist, it would be impossible to expand without opening work at some distance from the present centre. The Karens are easily led, and more than once have been the victims of schismatic leaders. One of these leaders was an ordained priest of the Church, named Thomas Pellake. He altered the Karen name of Christ (K'ree) to K'lee—a bow, and built up round this a fantastic system of teaching. His licence was taken away, and eventually he was excommunicated. His power has now waned in the hills, though he is still active and has adherents in the plains.

Of one very devoted missionary priest, long since passed away, some mention should be made. James Colbeck began his missionary career in the S.P.G. settlement at Kemmendine, near Rangoon. Shortly after Burma was constituted into a separate diocese he was transferred to Mandalay. When King Mindon died he was succeeded by his son Theebaw, who under the influence of his wife proceeded to murder no less than seventy members of the Royal Family. Through the courage and presence of mind of Colbeck it is now known that numbers more of Theebaw's royal relations were saved. Disguising them as servants, he managed to get them over to the British Embassy, which was shortly afterwards withdrawn. For a time Colbeck himself had to leave Mandalay, and during his residence at Moulmein occupied himself in building the Church. Later on when Theebaw was deposed and Upper Burma was annexed by the British, Colbeck returned to Mandalay, where he died in 1885.

On the resignation of Bishop Knight in 1909, the Rev. R. S. Fyffe, Head of the Winchester Brotherhood in Mandalay, was appointed as his successor in the Episcopal

office. During his Episcopate the work of the Church has gone on vigorously and steadily. His staff of Clergy now numbers fifty-six, of whom eleven are Government Chaplains, seven A.C.S., fifteen European missionaries, twenty-two Burmese or Indian priests and deacons, and one Principal of the Diocesan Boys' School. There are twenty-four lady missionaries and several professed Sisters. The education of the Anglo-Indian community has been an especial object of his care. Excellent schools in Rangoon, Mandalay and Maymyo are now educating at least 1400 of their boys and girls. There is also a flourishing work carried on amongst the large number of Indian habitants in Burma, chief amongst whom are Tamils from South India. Burma has problems of its own, and not the least difficult is that amongst its large Chinese population who come to Burma and who frequently marry Burmese wives. Church work is being attempted amongst the Chinese only in Moulmein. The task of the Church amongst Burmese Buddhists, it must be admitted, is one of peculiar difficulty. They have an ancient, organised, and attractive religion, and for the present they seem thoroughly satisfied with it. Of late too they have been encouraged to remain so for political and nationalist reasons. Europeans are no longer free to enter their pagodas, and new difficulty is being experienced in the circulation of the Bible and other Christian literature. No diocese has been served by a more devoted body of missionary priests and lady workers.

It may be unwise to mention the names of individuals now living, but one remarkable figure compels notice. This is the blind priest, the Rev. W. H. Jackson of Wadham College, Oxford, who has given himself to the work for the many blind people of Burma, started by the Rev. W. C. B. Purser of Kemmendine. In the five years he has been in Burma he has mastered the language to such an extent that he has produced a system of Burmese Braille which works admirably, and to see him in Burmese dress with bare feet among his pupils is to realise anew what devoted missionary work means. "It is such devotion to the afflicted and the poor that contains the promise of the final triumph of the Gospel."

CHAPTER XX

THE DIOCESE OF TRAVANCORE AND COCHIN, 1879

(The Country of Fiords, Mountains and Moplahs)

BISHOPS.

1. JOHN MARTINDALE SPEECHLY, consecrated 1879; resigned 1889; died 1898.
2. EDWARD NOEL HODGES, consecrated 1890; resigned 1904.
3. CHARLES HOPE GILL, consecrated in Westminster Abbey on the Feast of St. Luke, 1905.

BOOKS OF REFERENCE.—*The Anglican Church in Travancore and Cochin*, by the Rev. W. S. Hunt; *A History of Missions in India*, by Richter.

TUCKED away in the extreme south-west of India are two Native States, which together form the modern Anglican Diocese of Travancore and Cochin. It is a fascinating bit of country. A lofty range of mountains on the east cuts it off from Tinnevelly, and its sea-coast is one long series of lagoons or back-waters, so that one can travel for great distances along it protected from the uncertainties of the Arabian Sea. Between its sea-coast and lofty hills and mountains, is a not very wide stretch of plain country, which is remarkably fertile. Unique in its natural features, it is also somewhat unique in its inhabitants. Some years ago a book was written with a political motive, entitled *India—A Nation*. One hardly knows whether to laugh or feel indignant at such a grossly untrue title of this vast Peninsula, where more than three hundred different languages are spoken, and whose many races differ from one another far more profoundly than do the races in Europe. Travancore gives its quota to this vast jumble of mankind, with at least half a dozen races, of whom one especially has, in recent times, won for itself an unenviable notoriety. Located in large numbers at the foot of its hill country are the Moplahs—a race of men whose male ancestors are said to have come from Arabia. Fierce, fanatical Moslems, and extremely strong physically, they have been for long years a frequent source of terror to the mild Hindus who form the bulk of the population of Travancore and Cochin.

Cut off from the rest of India by its natural geography, Travancore has also evolved social and religious customs of its own, which are found nowhere else in India. Its native chiefs come to their inheritance through the maternal and not the paternal line. Caste is nowhere so strong as it is in these regions, and woe betide the "untouchable" or "unapproachable," be he man or woman, who comes too near the Brahman or high-caste man.

Certainly no one of our thirteen Anglican Dioceses in the Ecclesiastical Province of India and Ceylon has a history which, from a Christian point of view, is comparable to that of Travancore and Cochin. For, although few, if any, historians of repute are prepared to accept the ancient tradition that the Apostle Thomas visited Travancore and first sowed the seeds of the Christian faith in this country, still no one doubts that Christianity came to Travancore within the first three centuries of the Christian era, and that the first-fruits of India to Christ were won in these regions. Nor, again, can there be any doubt that its first evangelists were Eastern and not Western missionaries, who belonged most probably to the ancient Church of Northern Mesopotamia, commonly called the Assyrio-Chaldæan Church, before that Church had become infected with the Nestorian heresy.

One name most prominent amongst the early evangelists of Travancore is that of Thomas of Cana, and it is thought probable that the similarity of his name to that of the Apostle has been responsible for the idea that Travancore was evangelised by St. Thomas the Apostle. It should be stated, however, that no amount of historical criticism is likely to shake the deep-rooted conviction of the Travancore Christians, that to them belongs the glory of an Apostolic origin.

We owe a debt of gratitude to the Rev. W. S. Hunt, one of the Travancore missionaries, for his very readable little history of *The Anglican Church in Travancore and Cochin*, the first volume of which has recently been published. Let us hope that its sister volume will not be long in appearing.

There are to-day, in Travancore and Cochin, about one and a half million Christians, or more than a quarter of the whole Christian population of India. These Christians can be classified broadly under the following heads :—

(1) Those who are connected directly or indirectly with the Church of Rome, and who number something like

seven hundred thousand. Of these about two hundred and fifty thousand follow the Latin rite, the remaining four hundred and fifty thousand being allowed by the Church of Rome to keep some of their ancient Syrian rites and customs —in this respect like the Uniat Greek Church.

(2) Those of the ancient Syrian Church, who are divided into three classes: (*a*) those under the Jacobite or West Syrian Patriarch of Antioch, numbering about two hundred and fifty thousand; (*b*) those of the Reformed, or St. Thomas' Syrian Church, under its own Metropolitan, numbering about one hundred thousand; (*c*) those under the East Syrian Patriarch, numbering about forty thousand, with their chief station at Trichur.

(3) Anglicans, numbering sixty-five thousand.

(4) Those under the London Missionary Society in South Travancore, numbering about one hundred thousand.

There is a considerable difference of opinion as to whether the Syrian Church in Malabar was Nestorian or not in its early days. Claudius Buchanan, who visited Malabar one hundred and fifteen years ago, writing in his *Christian Researches*, states, "There are at this time fifty-nine Churches in Malayala (or Malabar), acknowledging the Patriarch of Antioch; the Syrians are not Nestorians. Formerly they had Bishops of this Communion, but the Liturgy of the present Church is derived from that of the early Church at Antioch, called the Liturgy of St. James the Apostle. They are usually denominated Jacobite; but they differ in ceremonial from the Church of that name in Syria, and indeed from any existing Church in the world. Their proper designation, which is sanctioned by their own use, is Syrian Christians."

For long centuries the Syrian Church lived its own life and followed its own customs. Their Churches were generally decorated with large, and often very old, crosses. "On the other hand, there were no pictures of saints; the only saints they honoured were the fathers of the Nestorian Church. They observed three Sacraments—Baptism, Holy Communion and Ordination to the Priesthood. The Lord's Supper they administered in both kinds; but before handing the bread to the communicant the priest dipped it in the wine. Instead of grape wine, which could not be obtained, they made use of juice pressed from raisins, previously steeped in water, or even the ordinary palm wine of the

country. They had no Confirmation, no auricular confession, no extreme unction. Further, and this is particularly noteworthy, they had no monachism—no monks, no nuns, no monasteries. Withal they maintained a well-ordered Church discipline, which was exercised by the priests in the presence of the whole congregation, and their ban fell heavily on all evil-doers in civil as well as in Church life. A beautiful and greatly beloved custom was that of the 'love feast' (Nercha), at the celebration of which many thousands of Christians frequently assembled. It was a good sign, too, that girls who were poor (and as, according to Syrian custom, girls had no right of inheritance, there were many such) were endowed either by members of the congregation or from the Church funds. The Syrian Christians ate only fish and herbs on Wednesdays and Fridays; on the other hand, they did not regard Saturday as a fast day. Mass was said every Sunday, though it was not a strict rule of the Church that the congregations should assemble in the Churches to hear it. It is worthy of special note that there existed a very numerous body of native priests (Kattanars) and deacons (Shammas), who were required to attain a certain degree of education, and, in particular, a knowledge of the Syrian language, though it must be admitted that their education was not of a very high order. In many families the spiritual calling had been hereditary from time immemorial, especially in the Palamattam family at Korolongata. In addition to this, the priests were proud of, and insisted on, the national character of their Church. From the Palamattam family was always chosen the Archdeacon, the most influential of all the priests, save the Bishop, who was sent from Mesopotamia. Most of the priests were married; many even married a second time; and their wives were held in the greatest esteem.

"It must be admitted, however, that there was a considerable amount of compromise with the usages and ideas of the surrounding heathen; marriages were often celebrated when one or both parties were only nine or ten years of age; cases of polygamy were not unknown; Sunday labour was not infrequent; children were seldom baptised before the fortieth day, and often it was a case of months and years; in the remoter districts there were whole families who had never been baptised. Pride in the high caste accorded to the Syrians in virtue of their Christianity was so great

that they avoided all intercourse with the lowest castes, and discountenanced and sought to prevent the conversion of members of low castes to Christianity. *Within the memory of men they had never carried on any kind of missionary activity.* The Syrian Church was thus as it were a foreign body, wholly self-contained, in the midst of the heathen populace of Malabar, and for that very reason the more tenacious of its customs and traditions." *

During this long period, news occasionally filtered through to Europe of this Church which had been founded, as it was popularly believed, by the Apostle Thomas in South India, and, as is well known, good King Alfred, in fulfilment of a vow, sent a Mission to the shrine of Thomas in South India in the eighth century.

Then with the coming of the Portuguese an era of great change began. At first the Portuguese adopted a friendly attitude towards these famous Christians, who, accustomed as they had been for long centuries to all kinds of oppression at the hands of their Hindu rulers, looked on the Portuguese as natural allies, and even placed themselves under the protection of the King of Portugal. There can be no doubt that the Portuguese were animated by political motives in their early attitude towards the Thomas Christians. Their minds were at that time full of the ambition of founding a colonial empire in India, and they felt that a strong body of loyal Christians would be a great help in carrying out their far-reaching plans. Gradually, however, the political view faded into the background, and the ecclesiastical position of this Christian Church in Travancore became their prime concern. The heavy troubles which befell this ancient Syrian Church fell on it, we must remember, more than a generation after the death of Saint Francis Xavier. During his period the Roman Catholic authorities at Goa seem to have been animated almost entirely by a desire to convert the non-Christians of India.

It has always been the policy of the Roman Church—a natural policy, after all—to work along the line of least resistance, and it was clear to Portuguese Roman Catholic authorities at Goa that their first duty was to bring the ancient Syrian Church of Malabar into what they regarded as the fuller light of truth. Their methods were, to say the least, questionable. Malabar had, as we have seen,

* Richter.

from the first received its Bishops from Mesopotamia, so it was obvious to Archbishop de Menezes that if he was to reduce it to the Roman obedience, it was necessary to cut off this Episcopal supply. "Stern orders were issued to all Portuguese ports in India, that no Nestorian Bishop hailing from Mesopotamia and bound for Malabar, should be allowed to proceed on his journey. One Nestorian Bishop, who had reached Ormuz, at the south of the Persian Gulf, was forced to return to his home, and another, after evading the Portuguese, died at Lahore." *

Then, when the Church in Travancore found itself without Bishops of its own, de Menezes the Archbishop felt his time for action had arrived. Summoning a large body of Kattanars (priests) and laity of this ancient Church to a Synod at Diamper, he laid before them a document which he induced them, after much persuasion, to sign. By the terms of this document their Church was completely Romanised, "the celibacy of the clergy was introduced, and hitherto lawful marriages and happy family life in the Kattanars were mercilessly broken up. Communion in one kind, statues of the saints, and all distinctive Romish rites and ordinances were introduced without the slightest apprehension of the historical uniqueness of this ancient Church." *

From 1550 to the end of that century, Jesuit influence was paramount in Malabar. It reached its climax at this Synod of Diamper. Then for the next half-century things remained very much in the same condition, except that gradually there arose a deep discontent amongst these Romanised Syrian Christians. The rights of their native priests were ignored, and everywhere they were made to feel their inferiority. On more than one occasion they appealed to the Pope, but without success. On one occasion they asked that Dominicans should be sent amongst them, but the Jesuits took good care that this appeal should be turned down.

Things eventually reached a climax, and in this way. The Nestorian Church in Mesopotamia had never quite forgotten its brethren in South India, and in 1653 a new Bishop, who had been consecrated by the Nestorian Patriarch, arrived in India. Recognised by the Portuguese, he was taken into custody, carried by sea to Goa, and, after trial by the Inquisition, was burnt at the stake! At the news of this

* Richter.

atrocity the Christians in Malabar rose *en masse*, and, assembling at a place near Cochin, swore solemnly at the foot of the Cross before a Church, that no Jesuit should ever again be recognised as Bishop in their country, and that all Jesuits should be driven out of the land. For a short time it seemed as if Rome would lose everything. Of the two hundred thousand Thomas Christians, as they were called, only four hundred remained true to Rome. Rome would certainly have lost all its influence in Travancore had it not been for the extraordinary sagacity of its leaders. Fully realising the hatred which the Jesuits had inspired, they at once despatched four barefooted Carmelite friars, who were instructed to grant as many concessions as possible, and to do all in their power to remove suspicion and to mollify the people. The result was, in the long run, successful, and though a considerable body seceded from the Roman obedience, a large number remained.

With the decline of Portuguese power in India, there was a short period of Dutch ascendancy, during which the Roman Catholic Church lost much of its power in Travancore and Cochin.

We must now pass on to comparatively modern days, when the English Church was brought for the first time into contact with the Syrian Christians of Travancore. Twice during his period of service as a Chaplain in India, Claudius Buchanan visited these regions, and his book on *Christian Researches in Asia* was in the main responsible for awakening a deep interest in this ancient Church throughout the religious world in England. Twice also during his Episcopate, Bishop Middleton, the first Bishop of Calcutta, visited Travancore, and was given a warm welcome by the leaders of the Syrian Church. From the first he made it clear to them that his one desire was to help them to improve themselves and not to draw them into anything like a corporate union with the English Church.

In the year 1815—a year of great events in Europe—the first missionary of the English Church to India, the Rev. Thomas Norton, was sent by the Church Missionary Society to Travancore. He came as the result of an urgent appeal by Colonel Munro, the British Resident at Kottayam. Colonel Munro was essentially a statesman of the school of the Lawrences. He was a devout Christian and a kind-hearted philanthropist. At a time when the British Raj

was by no means popular, he was most desirous of strengthening its power and influence. He felt that by helping these down-trodden Syrian Christians " he was securing the support of a respectable body of loyal Christian subjects, connected with the mass of the people by a community of language, occupations, and pursuits, who would be united to the British Government by the stronger ties of religion and mutual safety." He knew how terribly the Syrian Christians had suffered, and he was anxious to secure for them not only religious, but civil benefits. At this time no Syrian Christian was in any way connected with the administration of the country. As a preliminary step, Colonel Munro had Thomas Norton appointed as Judge of the Civil Court at Allepey, when he knew enough of the Malayalam language to make it possible. At the same time, he appointed a missionary of the London Missionary Society to a Judgeship in another part of the State. He also used the missionaries as intermediaries between himself and the Government. Knowing how closely they were in touch with the people, he felt they would fairly voice the pressing needs of the Syrian Christians. He also aimed at improving the standard of education of these Syrian Christians, and especially the education of their Clergy. For this purpose he persuaded the State to give a large and suitable site for a College at Kottayam (now called the Old Syrian Seminary), and he himself was largely responsible for the erection of the buildings, which were primarily intended for the training of Deacons and Priests of the Syrian Church. He also persuaded the missionaries to open schools in various places in Travancore and Cochin.

The Rev. Thomas Norton, as has just been said, was stationed at Allepey—a region somewhat remote from the Syrian Church. His work, for the most part, was amongst non-Christian people and particularly amongst the Jews. Then came in quick succession a number of missionaries, of whom Benjamin Bailey, Joseph Fenn, Henry Baker, Samuel Ridsdale and Joseph Peet were the most famous. Some of these missionaries gave very long periods of service to the country. Benjamin Bailey spent thirty-four years, Henry Baker forty-seven years, and Joseph Peet thirty-two years of hard work in Travancore. During his first ten years, Joseph Fenn, a highly gifted man, who had been called to the Bar, was obviously the leader. It

was a period of feeling their way. Their aim was to help the Syrians to help themselves. It was renovation and not an attempt at drawing them over to the English Church. In many respects their work was not unlike that of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Mission to the Assyrian Church of Kurdistan.

Ten years elapsed—ten years of happy co-operation and kindly feeling—during which the College at Kottayam had proved a success and most of the missionaries were welcomed as preachers in the Syrian Churches. Then came a change—perhaps an inevitable one.

For a long period the Church of Antioch had taken but little or no notice of their brethren in Travancore, when they suddenly decided to send an Archbishop to visit it. With his coming the attitude of the Syrian Church towards the English missionaries underwent a big change. Instead of friendly co-operation they began to look upon the efforts of the English missionaries with suspicion, and even accused them of desiring to seduce them from their ancient allegiance.

Just about this time, too, Bishop Wilson, the Metropolitan of India, visited Travancore. He found things in a very unsettled and unhappy state and set to work to improve them. In an interview with the chief Metran, he urged certain reforms. His first demand was that the College should be the recognised place for the education of their Clergy. For some time before, the Metran had apparently been receiving small sums of money from quite uneducated and in some cases unsuitable men, and had been ordaining them to the priesthood without any College training. Bishop Wilson also urged that the Clergy should be supported by other means than the fees for the prayers for the dead, and that schools should be spread all over the diocese. Most important, however, of all his suggestions was that a Malayalam Liturgy be framed from the Syrian Liturgy and be generally used. This meant that the people would worship in a language they understood. The Metran, at the time, thanked the Bishop for his kindly counsel, and promised to put his recommendations before the general body of the Syrian Clergy when they met in Synod. Bishop Wilson was clearly confident that he had gained his points, and, before leaving Travancore, gave a handsome personal gift towards the Syrian Church. Greatly to his astonishment a few months later a Synod was held at Mavelikara, at

which it was decided that none of the Bishop of Calcutta's recommendations should be executed, and that "they, being the Jacobite Syrians subject to the Patriarch of Antioch, and observing the Church rites and rules established by the Prelates sent by his command, cannot deviate from them; and as no one possesses his authority to preach and teach the doctrine of one religion in the Church of another without the sanction of their respective Patriarchs, he cannot permit the same." A solemn oath was then taken by the Metropolitans and priests to have no further intercourse with the missionaries, and to withdraw all their deacons from the College; they also returned the Bishop's gift.

When this remarkable change of face on the part of the Syrian Church took place, it was inevitable that those missionaries who had been working in Kottayam and amongst the Syrian Christians should adopt an entirely new attitude in the future. They had primarily come to the help of the old Syrian Church, and now they were informed that they were no longer wanted. Fortunately for our missionaries, though these ancient Christians bulked large in the population of Travancore, there were many others to whom they could go. Some of them, like Thomas Norton, had already done excellent work and achieved considerable results in and around Allepey. Later on, Henry Baker, the son of the first missionary of that name, did great things amongst the Hill Arrians and out-castes. Ridsdale also did a great work in Cochin, winning a number of distinguished converts, amongst whom was the son of the Rajah.

And so, nothing daunted, these devoted men pressed forward in the work of the evangelisation of Travancore, a work which had always been conspicuously neglected by the ancient Syrian Church. Years passed, in which numbers of converts were made, until in the year 1878 it was found impossible for the Bishop of Madras, who was then in charge of this part of India, adequately to shepherd the growing Anglican Church of Travancore. The first Bishop to be appointed, the Rev. John Martindale Speechly, had been working for many years as an educational missionary at Kottayam, in the John Nicholson Institution. After an Episcopate of ten years he was succeeded by the Rev. Edward Noel Hodges, who, fifteen years later, was succeeded by a distinguished missionary from North India, the Rev. Charles Hope Gill.

As we have already stated, the Anglican Communion has a membership of about sixty-five thousand persons. They are composed broadly of three classes : (*a*) those whose ancestors were amongst the comparatively few people of the old Syrian Church who pressed for admission into the Anglican Communion ; (*b*) converts from amongst the Hill Tribes ; (*c*) people from the depressed classes, who have been coming forward in great numbers for some years past, and of whom it may be said, " they are taking the Kingdom of Heaven by violence."

It has often been stated that one great evidence of a living Church is whether it is missionary in spirit. It is interesting to note that the Diocese of Travancore maintains its own Missionary Society, with one clergyman and twenty lay workers evangelising a distant portion of Travancore. Plans are now being made to extend its operations by opening a Travancore Anglican Mission in a part of the Hyderabad State in the Diocese of Dornakal. Like the remainder of our Indian Dioceses, the Diocese of Travancore is governed by a Diocesan Council, consisting of the Bishop and all the Clergy and about eighty representatives selected from the laity. This Council meets once a year.

Perhaps one of the happiest features in the religious life of Travancore in recent years has been the revival of the original good feeling which existed a century ago between the Church Missionary Society and the Syrian Church. When the Church Missionary Society was observing its Centenary celebration in the year 1916, some of the leading Bishops and Clergy of the Syrian Church took the opportunity of expressing how much they owed to the work of the Church Missionary Society within its area. The Rev. Father Geo-Vergese, speaking on behalf of the Metropolitan of the Syrian Church, who was unable to attend, spoke of the various benefits which his Church had received through the Church Missionary Society. He recalled how the early missionaries had given to the Syrians the Bible, not only in Malayalam, but also in Syriac, and how many Syrians had passed through the Kottayam College. He further stated that long before the Sirkar had given education to the people of Travancore, the Church Missionary Society had done so. He spoke warmly of the brotherly efforts to promote co-operation and union which had been undertaken by the present Bishop.

With this improved feeling the ancient Syrian Church is at length waking up to its duty towards the evangelisation of the non-Christian population in South India. Now at length, under the long-continued influences of the Church Missionary Society, especially of the late Rev. Thomas Walker, and of later years through annual visits of the Oxford Mission to Calcutta, it does seem as if something great in a missionary sense was going to be accomplished; and this Eastern Church, casting aside its lethargy, is about to become what the Nestorian Church was centuries ago.

The Diocese of Travancore is well endowed with educational institutions. There is, in the first place, the Cambridge Nicholson Institution for training candidates for Holy Orders, as well as for evangelistic and teaching work. There is the Church Missionary Society College at Kottayam, affiliated to the University of Madras. This College was started about the year 1840, when the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society withdrew from their co-operation with the Syrian Metropolitan. "It has always been 'a Mission of Help' to the large Syrian Christian community on the Malabar coast. Most of the Metropolitans and Bishops of the non-Roman Catholic Syrian Churches, as well as most of their priests and prominent laymen, have received their education in this College. Its buildings contain a fine chapel and a spacious hall, as well as large lecture-rooms and a hostel. The Rev. F. N. Askwith was Principal in this College for twenty-seven years until the year 1920. His place has now been taken by the Rev. W. E. S. Holland, a well-known educational missionary from North India. In addition to this there is an excellent High School, as well as an institution for training women teachers, which bears the honoured name of Buchanan. There are High Schools at Trichur and Mavelikara, Boys' and Girls' Boarding Schools at Tiruwella, Trichur, and Kunnankulam. There are also Industrial Schools for boys at Kottayam and Leper Asylums at Allepey." *

Alwaye is a small town on the northern border of the Travancore State on the banks of the beautiful Periyar river. At this place a new Union Christian College was opened in 1921, as an Intermediate College. It was affiliated to Madras University in 1923, when it was raised to the B.A. standard. It owes its inception to the enthusiasm of

* Communicated by the Bishop.

some leading members of the Syrian and Anglican Churches, who united together to establish the College. Some of them have since joined a Teaching Fellowship or Brotherhood, and are serving on the College staff. It is possible that some day this Union College may develop into a University for the Malayalam-speaking area on the Malabar Coast. Of the spirit which animates that body, which is called the Alwaye Fellowship, Bishop Gill writes most enthusiastically. In his opinion, it is the finest product of the Indian Church that he has seen in India. "It stands for the will and ability of sons of India to do something themselves on a large scale for the Kingdom of Christ in India. It has been wonderfully blessed by God with lands and money and staff, and union amongst its members. It aims at a higher standard of Christian life, individual and collective. It is evangelistic in spirit, because it is deeply Christian and must lead all souls to Christ."

Of recent years the desire for something like a union has begun to grow amongst the various Christians of South India, and the influence of the movement has already spread to Travancore. Let us hope that in God's own time there will be a living and happy union between all the Christians in this area, and that these Christians, many of whom are already conspicuous for their intellectual and spiritual gifts, may be inspired with a desire for the conversion of India and may become great evangelists amongst their own non-Christian fellow-countrymen.

CHAPTER XXI

THE DIOCESE OF CHOTA-NAGPUR, 1890

(The Home of Orauns and Mundas)

BISHOPS

1. JABEZ CORNELIUS WHITLEY, consecrated 1890; died 1904.
2. FOSS WESTCOTT, consecrated 1905; transferred to Calcutta 1919.
3. ALEXANDER WOOD, consecrated 1919.

BOOKS OF REFERENCE.—*The Story of Fifty Years' Mission Work in Chota-Nagpur*, by the Rev. Eyre Chatterton, B.D.

IT is for many reasons unfortunate that a diocese with such a unique history and peculiar charm as that of Chota-Nagpur should have a name which leads to its being frequently identified with the Diocese of Nagpur in the Central Provinces. For the headquarters of the two dioceses are as wide apart as Land's End from John o' Groat's, and while in one respect they resemble each other in that they both possess a large number of the aboriginal races of India, in nearly all other respects they are utterly different. Chota-Nagpur is what is technically known as a division of the Province of Bihar and Orissa, and is sandwiched between those two larger territories. Its population consists largely of various aboriginal races called by the general name of Kol, viz. Mundas, Orauns, Larka Hos and Santhals, but ethnologically quite distinct.

Its missionary work goes back to the year 1844, when a party of four young Lutheran Missionaries were sent to India by the famous Johannes Gossner. The exact sphere of their labour had not been definitely decided upon when they left Europe, and for a time their minds were attracted to Tibet, owing to interest in that country aroused by the recently published writings of the Abbé Huc. While waiting in Calcutta and praying for guidance, they came across some of the aboriginal Kols from Chota-Nagpur, and attracted by their bright and merry faces they determined to go to the fascinating plateau country where these aborigines lived,

which was then about fifteen days' journey by road from Calcutta.

For some years the pioneers toiled with but little success. They made their centre at Ranchi, where they built a Church and schools. After years of apparently fruitless labour converts began to come steadily in, and by the year 1856 they had baptised 700 Kols. Then came those terrible Mutiny days in 1857, when their work was broken up, their converts scattered, and they themselves fugitives in Calcutta. It is interesting to recall that many of their converts were kept in safety by their non-Christian neighbours during those terrible days. In the German Church at Ranchi one or two cannon-balls can still be seen embedded in its tower—a reminder of those tragic days. During the absence of the German missionaries in Calcutta their converts remained staunch, and on their return their numbers increased rapidly, until at the end of 1860 they were hardly less than 10,000.

Then came a period of cruel and unexpected trial for these pioneer German missionaries who had been in the field for twenty-five years. Gossner had always realised that at his death difficulties might arise, both as to the support and the guidance of his interesting mission. In 1857 he even wrote to the Church Missionary Society in London, asking them to assume charge of it. His letter is so interesting that we quote it in full:—

"Berlin, Dec. 4th 1857.

"BRETHREN,

It is not unknown to you that I have, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, been endeavouring to do something towards the promotion of the Redeemer's Kingdom in India. But entering now on my eighty-fifth year, and feeling that my strength is beginning to fail me, I must, I am aware, sooner or later, cease entirely from all active and efficient superintendence of the Missions which I have been instrumental to establish. Desirous though I am, however, to put the work into other hands, the Lord seems at least not willing to give me a successor here to carry on the work as I should wish. I therefore propose, in the Lord, to transfer the said Missions as they are, and the not inconsiderable funds and means I have, to the care of the Missionary Society of the Church of England. Illness prevents me to correspond myself with you on the subject. I have, in

consequence, with the consent of my committee, authorised the Rev. Emil Schatz, who is our senior missionary to the Mission amongst the Cols in Chhota-Nagpur, not merely to lay my wish before your Society and to ascertain your views, but to come to an eventual arrangement, should my offer appear to you to deserve attention, to be acceptable. Committing all in the hands of our gracious Redeemer, and praying that He may guide you to come to a conclusion most conducive to His own glory, and the enlightenment of the benighted races of India, I am, with the members of my committee,

Yours in the Lord,
Johannes Gossner.
T. Tamm.
A. Beyerhaus.
F. Miguel."

Pastor Gossner's wish, however, was unfortunately not carried out. Not that the Home Committee of the Church Missionary Society were opposed to the idea, for at first they held out distinct hopes of complying with his request. The matter, however, had to be referred to their committee in Calcutta, and when the German missionaries in Ranchi were consulted, they were at that time unfavourable to the scheme. They had not at that time fully realised the troubles which would arise after Gossner's death, and as the mission had been started on Lutheran lines they were not anxious to alienate German sympathy and German support which they felt would be the case if the mission was Anglicised.

On the failure of these negotiations a Mission Society was started in Berlin, called the Evangelical Mission Society of Berlin, which was henceforth to support and manage the mission in Chota-Nagpur. When this Society with its committee which was called the Curatorium was started, it soon adopted a widely different policy to that adopted by the late Pastor Gossner. The personal touch was no longer there, and everything was run on strictly business principles. The rapid increase of converts had made the work of organisation imperative, and a body of younger missionaries were despatched to the Field. These younger men showed a singular disregard for the feelings of the pioneers, who had borne the burden and heat of the day. They adopted an attitude of mistrust and suspicion towards them, and went

so far as to accuse them of neglecting mission duties and misappropriating mission funds. So serious were these charges that the Curatorium felt they must be investigated. Their choice of an investigator was, however, singularly unfortunate. They selected a Mr. Ansorge, who had been a lay missionary in the mission twenty years previously, and who had withdrawn because of certain differences with the missionaries in charge. That he knew India was a point in his favour; that he had not one particle of sympathy for the older men made him incapable of approaching a problem which needed the finest and most delicate handling.

A conference was held at Ranchi in November, 1868, at which two leading Calcutta merchants, one an Englishman the other a German, both firm friends of the mission, were present. The conference decided that the charges were unfounded and frivolous. "It was apparent," so they said, "that the younger missionaries and Mr. Ansorge, in strange contrast with their professions of peace and love, were only intent upon humbling the elder missionaries." Of the elder pastors they stated, "We feel bound to say that the respect and esteem which we entertain for them have been greatly heightened by the simplicity, the gentleness, and the anxiety to throw light upon all subjects, which they displayed throughout the conference, despite the humiliations they were subjected to; contrasting as it did strongly with the bitterness displayed by Mr. Ansorge, and with his determination to find them wrong."

It is not our purpose to reopen wounds which have now, thank God, been largely healed. It is, however, necessary to state this matter fully and clearly, so as to make it quite evident that when Bishop Milman, under the advice of the leading English officials in Chota-Nagpur, decided to receive over a large number of these converts into the English Church and to ordain three of the original pioneers, he was not acting under any motive save that of solving an otherwise impossible problem.

In spite of the fact that the two assessors had pronounced the charges against the senior missionaries as unfounded and frivolous, and had acquitted the elder missionaries of even a suspicion of unworthy conduct, Mr. Ansorge adopted a course which humanly speaking could but have one result. Without a word of censure on the younger men for their false accusations, he imposed a new organisation on the

mission which deprived the senior missionaries of the position they had held, and placed them as a minority in the hands of men who had just made most serious charges against them. Into this new constitution the missionaries were bidden to enter; if they failed to do so, they were to consider themselves as no longer connected with the mission. The pioneers at once withdrew, and sent a vigorous protest to the committee in Berlin. The committee replied by upholding Mr. Ansorge's decision, dismissing the missionaries, and denouncing them as traitors and seceders.

Bishop Milman had already heard from the English officials in Chota-Nagpur of the unhappy state of things in the mission, but not until the final reply from the Curatorium in Berlin had arrived, did Bishop Milman take any action. The elder missionaries had implored him to receive them and a number of their converts into the English Church, but before even considering their request he did all in his power to reconcile the two parties. That it was evident that Mr. Ansorge was opposed to any sort of reconciliation can be seen from the fact that he refused to meet the Bishop when he arrived in Ranchi, and only when the Bishop had actually begun his work of receiving the Kol Christians into the English Church did a protest come from him, which was as weak as it was tardy. To it the Bishop replied courteously but very decidedly. "Believe me," he wrote, "that I have sought for God's guidance in this matter, and I cannot say that I doubt the correctness of my judgment in it, especially as I have the universal concurrence of the supporters of the Mission in India itself."

April 1869 was a memorable month in the history of Chota-Nagpur, for on the 17th and 18th, hundreds of Kol converts were confirmed by Bishop Milman, and on the 19th, four of its Pastors, F. Batsch, H. Batsch, F. Bohn, and Catechist Wilhelm Luther Daud Singh (a Rajput by caste), were ordained. The Ordination was a peculiarly impressive ceremony. The Bishop himself preached, and after his sermon there was a celebration of the Holy Communion at which six hundred and fifty persons communicated. At two o'clock in the afternoon there was a service in Hindi, at which the two brothers Batsch officiated for the first time as Priests of the English Church. "In the sermon which the Rev. F. Batsch preached he stated that probably but for his deprecating it at the time, the step they had now taken

would have been made years before. He rejoiced now to help on what he had then discouraged."

As it was apparent that the staff of four ordained clergy and three lay missionaries were quite unequal to the demands of a growing Church of many thousand converts, and as it was also clear that if the mission was to be an English Church Mission, though retaining as much as possible its old character, it must have one or two really able English missionaries to superintend its work, the S.P.G., who had now taken over the work, sent one of their most experienced missionaries, the Rev. J. C. Whitley, to act as Superintendent.

Seven years before this Mr. Whitley had left England for India to fulfil the desire of his life and preach Christ to the Gentiles. He had been stationed at Delhi shortly after the Mutiny, and had then laboured at Karnal amongst its Jat population. Of the wisdom of the choice of the Society thirty years of splendid work is the best answer. Mr. Whitley possessed considerable qualifications as a Hindi scholar, but what was of even more importance he possessed a spirit firm, faithful, loving, and conciliatory.

There was, of course, much to be done at the start in the way of organisation. The missionary area with its more than three hundred Christian villages was divided into circles, leaving as many as ten or fifteen villages in one circle. The old system of village elders, who received no salary and on whom devolved the duty of seeing after the spiritual state of their village, was continued. In addition to these elders a number of Catechists or Readers were appointed who received a small salary. Their duties were to visit the Christians in their circle, to hold services on Sundays in the central village chapel of their village, and in the absence of a missionary to instruct the young in the Bible and Catechism.

Those early days were days of great earnestness in this Christian community. Owing to the smallness of their staff, the missionaries from Ranchi were unable to visit their circles more than once a month or even two months, when the Holy Communion was administered. In some cases the converts travelled distances of forty and fifty miles to attend their monthly communions. There was also a great lack of chapels and schools, and much time and energy were spent in meeting this need. So earnestly, however, did the sympathisers with the Mission, especially the English ladies

in Ranchi, labour on its behalf, that within twelve months enough money had been collected to raise small chapels in nearly all the thirty-five central villages where the Readers were placed.

Writing at the end of his first year in Ranchi, Mr. Whitley says, "Christianity now spreads spontaneously, as it were, among the Kols. Within the last ten months there have been over six hundred baptisms, including the children of Christian parents, and there is every reason to hope that the whole people will become Christians."

In March 1870 a Theological Class was formed for the purpose of training Readers and Catechists for the Diaconate and Priesthood. A three years' course was mapped out, which included a general knowledge of Holy Scripture with special books on both Old and New Testaments, the Church History of the first three centuries, *Evidences of Christianity* by Archbishop Whately, and the Prayer-Book and Articles.

At first it was thought it might be well to send these theological students to Bishop's College, Calcutta, but the idea was fortunately abandoned. Three years' residence in Calcutta might easily have spoilt these simple Kol Readers and have unfitted them for their rough-and-tumble life in the jungles. It is interesting to note that the Theological Class which was started in 1870, still flourishes and has trained a large number of excellent Indian aboriginal clergymen for the ministry of the Church in the diocese and elsewhere.

The next great event in the history of this mission took place in the cold weather of 1872–73, when a handsome brick Church, capable of holding fully twelve hundred people, was consecrated by Bishop Milman. On the same occasion the Bishop ordained five Indian candidates to the diaconate. These candidates were presented to the Bishop by the Rev. W. Luther Daud Singh, who had himself been ordained Priest by Bishop Milman the previous year. The account of this service, which has come down to us, indicates that it must have been deeply impressive. The new deacons were at once posted to five important stations in the district: Itki, Maranghada, Murhu, Tapkara, and Ramtolia. They received Rs. 15 a month as deacons, and Rs. 20 as priests. Part of their income was paid by the native congregation, and an equal sum was granted by the Calcutta Native Pastorate Fund.

Some mention must here be made of the Rev. F. R.

Vallings, a devoted missionary, who had been for several years Secretary for the S.P.G. in Calcutta. Fascinated by what he saw of Chota-Nagpur during a visit with Bishop Milman, he offered for work there in 1872. There he laboured for nearly five years, until his health failed him, partly as the result of over-work and partly through neglect of good food while travelling in this large district. He was buried in the Red Sea on his homeward journey.

In the year 1874 the Earl of Northbrooke, then Viceroy of India, visited Chota-Nagpur, and later on while in England spoke most enthusiastically of the work which was being done amongst its aboriginal population by the mission. Again in 1875 Bishop Milman visited Ranchi for the last time, and spent twenty busy days in moving all over the district, confirming hundreds of candidates, and on February 17 ordaining ten candidates, of whom all save two were Kols.

The years which lay between 1870 and 1880 were most fruitful ones in missionary effort in Chota-Nagpur. The Anglican Communion had grown from 5700 in 1870 to 10,600 in 1880. In 1870 there was one native clergyman, in 1880 there were no less than eleven. In 1870 there were 900 communicants, in 1880 there were 4670.

Nor was this all. Village Churches had sprung up all over the district, school buildings and a handsome school-house in Ranchi had been erected; a noble Church, now the Cathedral of the Diocese of Chota-Nagpur, had been built. Great things had by God's help been accomplished.

Time does not permit us to speak at length of all that has taken place in Chota-Nagpur since those days. First of all came the withdrawal of the old German missionaries, owing to age and ill health. Synchronising with this was the arrival of new missionaries from England, most of whom came out as laymen and were ordained by Bishop Johnson during the next few years. Of these two were of very exceptional merit, the Rev. A. Logsdail and the Rev. D. G. Flynn, both of whom came from St. Augustine's Missionary College at Canterbury.

Early in 1880 the mission was called upon to face a new and very difficult problem. The Roman Catholic Church, hearing of the growing success of missionary effort in Chota-Nagpur, determined to reap what profit they could from the labours of others, a method in which they have always proved themselves most successful. Chota-Nagpur was

suffering from a land agitation. Its aboriginal population had been in many cases dispossessed by Hindu landlords, and they naturally felt they had a grievance. The Jesuit missionaries determined to turn this to account. They came forward as the people's champions. They established their mission stations as near as they could to various important police thanas or stations. They espoused the cause of the Kol, and told him that if he would hand himself over to their care they could get them back his land. The natural result of this was that within quite a short period a large number of the least satisfactory Lutheran converts and not a few Anglicans went over to the Jesuit Mission. One Jesuit Father Levins, who was known in the Vatican as the Apostle of Chota-Nagpur, is credited with having himself baptised 14,000 Kols. Many of these converts, however, at the time of their baptism hardly knew the name of the Blessed Trinity.

And yet in spite of all hindrances and difficulties the work went forward so vigorously in the Anglican Mission that in the year 1885 a petition was sent to Bishop Johnson the Metropolitan, signed by all the priests and deacons of our Church in that area, praying him to help forward as much as he could the appointment of a Bishop for Chota-Nagpur. The petitioners stated their reasons, which were as follows :—

(1) They were a flock of over thirteen thousand people.

(2) They had twenty-two priests and deacons.

(3) They were separated from the rest of the vast Calcutta Diocese by race, language, and territory.

(4) Their diocesan was only able as a rule to visit them once in three years.

(5) There was a powerful Lutheran Mission and an aggressive Roman one in their midst, which made a much closer Episcopal supervision imperative, if the Church was to be kept strong and pure.

Not, however, till five years later was the first Bishop appointed. Legal difficulties existed regarding the formation of a diocese within the Statutory Diocese of Calcutta, and time was needed before the necessary endowment could be raised.

When at length all difficulties had been removed, the person whose name was first mentioned for the new diocese was the Rev. G. A. Lefroy, then Head of the Cambridge Mission at Delhi, and afterwards Bishop of Lahore and Bishop of Calcutta. Lefroy felt, however, that his duty lay at Delhi,

and declined the offer. Bishop Johnson then approached the Rev. J. C. Whitley, Superintending Missionary, who had been identified with the work for many years. With his natural modesty Mr. Whitley at first declined to allow himself to be nominated. Later on, however, after much pressure he gave his consent and was consecrated on March 23, 1890. An interesting contemporary account of his consecration can be read in *The Story of Fifty Years' Mission Work in Chota-Nagpur.*

Early in the year 1892 the new diocese was strengthened greatly by the arrival of the Dublin University Mission. This Mission, formed on the same lines as the Cambridge Mission to Delhi, began its work with a staff of five Clergy and one lady worker, a fully trained nurse. They were located at Hazaribagh, the principal town of the northern district of Chota-Nagpur. Unlike the other districts of that area, the bulk of its population consists of very low-caste Hindus with caste prejudice, which have made the work of their evangelisation far more difficult than that amongst the simple aborigines of the other districts. Doubtless this fact has led the Mission to develop its work on lines decidedly different to the work in other parts of Chota-Nagpur. For while in the central and southern parts of that diocese there are to-day several hundreds of Christian villages with their Church, Pastors, Readers and school-masters dotted all over the country; in the northern district there is a strong centre at Hazaribagh, with its High School, its College (St. Columba's, affiliated to Patna University), its important medical work, more especially its Women's Hospital, while the number of Indian Christian settlements in the district is still small. Some day, perhaps, a history of this interesting mission will be written, and when it is, the names of those who have taken a prominent part in the development of its work will be mentioned. One will then read of Dr. K. W. S. Kennedy, the saintly Dr. Hearn, who passed from us all too soon; of Fanny Hassard, our first lady worker; of James Arthur Murray, the founder of St. Columba's College; and of Dr. Miss O'Meara.

Late in the autumn of 1904 Bishop Whitley passed to his well-earned rest, after nearly forty years' work in India. One of the last acts of his life was to assist in the Consecration of the first Head of the Dublin University Mission as first Bishop of the neighbouring Diocese of Nagpur. Bishop

Whitley was succeeded by his nephew, the Rev. Foss Westcott, who for fourteen years presided over the diocese, fostering and developing its work, and increasing its resources. During his Episcopate his hands were strengthened by the presence of Canon W. Cosgrave, an Honorary Canon of Durham, who gave several years of splendid service to the diocese, especially in his school work at Ranchi. All along too he was assisted by that most self-sacrificing of missionaries, the Rev. E. Whitley, son of the first Bishop. On the death of Bishop Lefroy early in 1919, Bishop Westcott, little though he desired it, was called upon to succeed him as Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India. He had unquestionably brought forward and consolidated the work of the Church in Chota-Nagpur in a remarkable way, and had won golden opinions from every one by the human and broad-minded way in which he had cared for the German Lutheran Mission and its missionaries during the Great War.

Later on in that year Chota-Nagpur received its third Bishop, the Rev. Alexander Wood, who, after eighteen years of important work at Chanda, in the Central Provinces, followed by three years' work as Chaplain to the Indian Cavalry in France and Palestine during the Great War, entered upon his new work in December 1919.

Certainly Chota-Nagpur has a good answer to those who are inclined to doubt the efficacy of our missionary efforts. There, where sixty years ago were a large aboriginal population of pagans, may to-day be seen a body of some 200,000 Christians, of whom 25,000 at least belong to the Anglican Communion. It is indeed but another example of the magical wand of true Christianity when wielded continuously and faithfully over an area of primitive people.

Since I wrote my *Story of Fifty Years' Mission Work in Chota-Nagpur*, certain events of great importance, more especially in connection with industrial development in that area, have taken place in this diocese. The present Bishop has very kindly contributed some interesting notes on these subjects, which are too valuable not to be quoted in full.

"The bulk of the Diocese of Chota-Nagpur is on a pleasant plateau, some two to three thousand feet above sea-level. On this plateau dwell the primitive peoples, Mundas and Orauns, from whom the bulk of the Christian

converts are drawn, and the eastern jungles and hills form the land of the Hos. In the valley round the foot of the plateau eastward and northward lies perhaps the richest mineral area in India. Here are the coalfields of Giridih, Sijua and Jharia, the 'black country' of India, a long vista of pitheads, linked with a network of railways, with clanging machinery and hooting sirens, and huge brick buildings where 'by-products' are extracted and utilised according to the latest scientific devices.

"Here there is a large European population of mine managers, engineers, and scientific experts, with their assistants. In Jharia they are mainly Scottish and Presbyterian, in Giridih mainly English, and in Sijua perhaps half and half. Keen, hard, practical folk, not greatly interested in religion or Church, but rich in charity and kindliness. In this area we have one Chaplain who has to provide religious ministrations to an area about the size of an English county. For many years the Anglican Missionary was the only Clergyman, but lately the Presbyterian Missionary from Pokhuria has provided fortnightly services in Jharia.

"Again to the south in the Singhbhum area is the enormous enterprise of the Tata Steel and Iron Company at Jamshedpur. The passenger on the night mail for Calcutta, after running for hours through an apparently interminable jungle, suddenly sees the northern horizon lit by a huge arc of electric lights, whose pure white light contrasts, as the train draws nearer, with the murky glare of a host of furnaces that fills the foreground. This is the first impression of Jamshedpur.

"In 1808 this Indian Company began its work in the middle of a sullen jungle. Three factors governed the selection of the site. From there they could develop the rich deposits of iron ore in the Singhbhum hills to the south, draw their coal from the mines of the north, and situated in a bend of the Subernareka River a plentiful supply of water was available.

"Under the energetic direction of the present manager this enterprise rendered distinguished services to the country during the War by supplying munitions, and greatly extended their plant, which is all of the most modern design. The Company employs some 26,000 men in Jamshedpur and about 7000 in its mines and quarries in the hills.

"In addition to the Steel Works some ten industrial companies have secured sites on the lands acquired by the Tata Company, and are building the 'New Town.' They are supplied with electric power for their works and raw materials from the Tata Works."

Some idea of the extent of this growing centre of industry may be obtained from the fact that in addition to the 4,000,000 gallons of water a day required by the Steel Works, a new pump-house has lately been installed with a capacity of 120,000 gallons per minute to supply the new enterprises.

"At present Jamshedpur is a town of some 60,000 inhabitants, Indian and European. The whole town is planned on the most enlightened modern lines and wonderfully well adapted to all the different classes of workmen employed. The Anglican Church was built by the European, American, and Anglo-Indian members of the congregation, at a cost of some Rs. 50,000, on a site granted by the Company. The Chaplain is the S.P.G. Missionary, who in addition to his English-speaking congregation also has charge of an Indian congregation of some four hundred members at Mahalbera, all of whom are connected with the Works. These are the main industrial centres, but up the Damuda valley, a deep cleft in the plateau between Ranchi and Hazaribagh, new discoveries of valuable minerals have lately been made, new enterprises are being begun, and new lines of railway are being extended to link up these undertakings with the existing network, and the European and Anglo-Indian population steadily grows.

"One would gather that this diocese ought to be rich, but as a matter of fact it is the wage-earners who live within the diocese. The owners of these rich properties are in Calcutta, and often are non-Christian.

"As a matter of fact, most of our people are poor, and the problem of how the children of this increasing English-speaking community were to be educated was one the diocese had to face.

"Hill schools in the Himalayas were not only filled, but had long waiting lists, and in many cases fees and railway fares were more than our people could meet. Except in Jamshedpur, where Rs. 75,000 are annually spent on education, there are few good schools on the plains, and in any case the climatic conditions are injurious to growing children. The Provincial Government was also alive to the need and

offered a splendid site at Namkum, near Ranchi, and one-half the capital cost up to a limit of Rs. 175,000 if the S.P.G. would undertake to provide a similar sum to provide and manage two good boarding schools, one for girls and one for boys, with dormitory space for 125 pupils in each. This enterprise was undertaken in 1920, and, as a memorial of the great services of the Metropolitan in this diocese, the schools were called the 'Bishop Westcott Schools.'

"The diocese was fortunate in having on its staff the Rev. T. H. Cashmore, who was sufficiently experienced in building to plan and carry out this great work.

"The Girls' School, power-house, etc., has now been built, and two years ago the Community of St. Denys, Warminster, with splendid courage undertook to provide the teaching staff. Accordingly, under the management of Sister Barbara, as Principal of the School, the Bishop Westcott School for Girls was opened in March 1922, and the first part of the programme was finished.

"The buildings of the Boys' School have been begun, but some £3000 required to complete the project has not yet been raised. It is impossible for the diocese to run into debt, so the undertaking must mark time until the money is found."

This chapter should not close without some reference to the way in which this diocese has been organised for self-support. It is the pride of the diocese that not one of its thirty Indian Parish Clergy receives any portion of his salary from S.P.G. The ideal set up by the saintly Bishop Whitley when the diocese was first formed was that should S.P.G. at any time withdraw there would still be the nucleus of an organised Church: the Bishop and the Parish Clergy. To this end he and Bishop Westcott built up the Native Pastorate Fund. The interest on this fund and the annual collections of the parishes provide the salaries of the Indian Clergy.

This year a further step was taken. The Diocesan Council appointed a Pastorate Fund Board of Indian members only, with the Bishop as chairman. This Board was given full financial responsibility, and will in future have the management of this fund. It is true that the salaries of the Clergy are small, averaging less than £2 per mensem. But now that the responsibility rests with an Indian Board, it is hoped that this may be remedied.

In a former part of this chapter a clear and accurate statement has been given of the relations between the Lutheran and the Anglican Missions some fifty years ago, and though most of the principal actors in that drama are long dead, perhaps some echoes of the ancient antagonism still linger.

The War of 1914–1918 made it more inevitable that the Anglican Mission should again intervene in the affairs of the Lutheran Mission. For the outbreak of war soon stopped all supplies from Germany to the German missionaries in Chota-Nagpur, and three months after August 4, 1914, they were in serious financial difficulties. Bishop Westcott then issued an appeal to all Missions in India, stating the case and asking for help. His first aim was to keep the German missionaries in their stations, and provide them with a minimum of Rs. 70 per mensem for each missionary. In 1915 Government removed the German missionaries from their stations and interned them. Bishop Westcott then undertook the supervision of the Lutheran Missions. His object was to keep the Lutheran Missions in being and intact, awaiting the return of the Germans. To this end he refused all applications from Lutherans desiring to join the Anglican Church until the end of the War.

For four long years, until October 1919, the Bishop and his Clergy, aided by the emergency staff which the Bishop, even in that difficult time, managed to get together, kept the Lutheran Mission of some 90,000 souls in being as an organised Church.

The S.P.G. gave an emergency grant of £2000 per annum, and this, with such funds as could be raised in India, made it possible in some degree to fill the gaps in men and money made by the War in the economy of the Gossner Mission. At the end of the War the German missionaries did not return. The organisation which the Bishop had introduced was formed into an autonomous Church, to the aid of which American Lutherans came with money. An Advisory Board was appointed by the Behar and Orissa Provincial Council of Missions to guide the Church in its first years, and its property was vested in a Board of Trustees appointed by the Government. To these bodies the Bishop, now Metropolitan of India, handed over his charge.

The Bishop's action during these four years has been misunderstood and misrepresented in many quarters. It has

even been described as a scheme to force these Lutherans into the Anglican Church.

But when the mists of prejudice and misrepresentation die down, this great effort of his will emerge as one of the noblest examples of Christian chivalry that the Mission Field can show.

CHAPTER XXII

THE DIOCESE OF LUCKNOW, 1893

(The Land of Historic Cities)

BISHOPS

1. ALFRED CLIFFORD, consecrated 1893; resigned 1910.
2. GEORGE HERBERT WESTCOTT, consecrated in All Saints' Cathedral, Allahabad, on November 6, 1910.

BOOKS OF REFERENCE.—*History of C.M.S.; History of Cawnpore Mission, S.P.G.; Memoirs of Daniel Corrie; C.M.S. Century of Work in Meerut; Centenary C.M.S. Work, Benares.*

IT used to be commonly said that if one was given his choice of a sphere of work in India, he would almost certainly choose the United Provinces. For the United Provinces is in many respects a most attractive country. Its people are intelligent, hard-working, prosperous, and for the most part peace-loving. Its climate is for the greater part of the year excellent, and in the hot weather one can retreat easily into the high Himalayan country with its glorious scenery. If it lacks some of the romance of the Punjab and warlike North-West Frontier, it has its places like Lucknow and Cawnpore, which hold imperishable memories of heroism and suffering for the British race. It is a land of historic cities, such as Benares, Agra, Bareilly, Meerut, Lucknow, Cawnpore, Aligarh, and Allahabad. It possesses splendid educational institutions, and has as many as four Universities, at Allahabad, Lucknow, Benares, and Aligarh. Many of the great places of pilgrimage, so dear to the Hindu, are found within its boundaries, such as Allahabad with its junction of the three sacred rivers; Benares and Hardwar; and the fact that Mother Ganges runs through it from one end to the other makes it to a Hindu almost a Holy Land.

It is in this favoured country that the diocese which we are about to describe is situated. The Diocese of Lucknow was established thirty years ago. Bishop Johnson, to whom our Church owes so much, had long felt that the growing

Missions of the Church Missionary Society and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the big military and civil stations in this region required the care of a whole-time Bishop, and not the occasional flying visits of a hard-worked Bishop of Calcutta. And so for some years he carefully laid his plans for the new diocese and, with the assistance of Bishop Wilkinson of North and Central Europe, built up an endowment for the future Bishop's salary. To Allahabad, the capital of the United Provinces, which was to be the head-quarters of the new diocese, he sent some of his ablest Chaplains, such as Brook Deedes, afterwards Archdeacon of Hampstead, Oscar D. Watkins, afterwards Archdeacon of Lucknow, and author of a learned treatise on Matrimony; Scobell, Stephenson, and Hardy.

Long before the idea of this new diocese had been worked out, the Church Committee of Cannington, a newly planned residential quarter of Allahabad, had decided to build a really handsome Church in this quarter of the station, and had employed Mr. (afterwards Sir) W. Emerson, the well-known architect, to prepare its plans. Then as money came in more plentifully and the idea of a diocese materialised, the early plans were considerably modified and enlarged, so as to prepare the way for the Cathedral Church of the Diocese.

Then came a further development. A wealthy American, Mr. A. C. P. Dodge, came on a visit to India one cold weather, accompanied by his wife. While at Allahabad she was taken dangerously ill with small-pox, and during her illness, which terminated fatally, was attended constantly by the Rev. W. H. Brennan, then Railway Chaplain at Allahabad. Stricken with grief and touched by the sympathy of Mr. Brennan, who had allowed the body to remain in one of the schools previous to burial, Mr. Dodge on his return to America sent Bishop Johnson a large sum of money as a memorial to his wife. Of the sum which Mr. Dodge gave to the Bishop of Calcutta, half was ear-marked for the Allahabad Cathedral building fund and half to form an endowment to provide grants towards the salaries of two clergymen, one to minister to Europeans and the other to Indians. That portion which was assigned to the building fund covered the cost of two transepts and the beautiful Choir.

While Sir W. Emerson's full design has not yet been completed, and a portion of the nave at the west end with two beautiful western towers have still to be built, this

Cathedral is certainly our handsomest Anglican Church in India. Grouped round it are various Church buildings : the Bishop's House, originally built for a Clergy House : two houses for Cathedral Clergy ; a Girls' School, called appropriately after Bishop Johnson ; and a house which is the headquarters of the Women's Diocesan Association.

To many people it may seem strange that the Cathedral of the Diocese is at Allahabad, while the title of the diocese is taken from Lucknow. This anomaly arises from the fact that Allahabad was situated within the legally defined territories of the original Diocese of Calcutta (founded in 1815), and therefore a title for the new diocese had to be found in a region which lay outside this area. As Lucknow, the capital of the northern Province of Oudh, never was in the Calcutta Diocese, having been annexed about 1857, this historic city of Lucknow has given its name to the Diocese of the United Provinces.

The first Bishop of Lucknow, the Right Rev. Alfred Clifford, was consecrated in St. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta, on Sunday, January 25, 1893. He had been for many years a distinguished missionary of the Church Missionary Society, part of which time he acted as Secretary in Calcutta.

There is certainly no part of India in which the Church of England has more interesting missionary work than in the United Provinces. Its missions in these regions go back in some cases to over a hundred years. Quite recently Agra, Meerut, and Benares have been celebrating their centenaries. It is well to remember that the mission work in these places was started by Chaplains of the East India Company. Fisher at Meerut, Martyn at Cawnpore, Corrie at Agra and Benares, all belonged to that company of godly Chaplains who were pioneers of our Church of England work in Northern India.

In the year 1848 the Rev. James Long of the Church Missionary Society, Calcutta, wrote a somewhat full account of various missions in India carried on by his Society. His account of the early days of the Agra Mission is very interesting.

" The Church Mission at Agra was founded by the Rev. D. Corrie in 1812, when he was Chaplain at Agra, and became the scene of his early missionary labours in India. Here he used to be seen walking through the streets with his Bible under his arm, 'exposed to the persecuting bigotry of the Musalmans,

yet preaching the Gospel'; and Abdul Masih, once a Mahratta trooper, was appointed a Scripture-reader and Superintendent of Schools under his direction. Abdul was baptised by the Rev. D. Brown in Calcutta in 1811, and was soon after removed to Agra. The favourable reception he met with led to the formation of a mission at Agra, for whenever he preached outside the Fort of Agra, the very tops of the houses were sometimes crowded with Musalmans anxious to hear him. Such misconceptions, however, then prevailed relative to the nature of Christian ordinances, that it was resolved to allow the natives to witness the administration of the Sacrament of Baptism, as a report was current amongst them that on the baptism of converts a piece of beef was given to the Hindu catechumens, and of pork to the Musalmans, and that each of the converts received five hundred rupees.

"Abdul's house at Agra became at times like an exchange, it was so frequented by crowds of inquirers; and Abdul had the good sense to wear his native costume, and not appear as the Portuguese did, neither native nor European."

Abdul Masih's ministry here was attended with great benefit to the most bigoted class in the East—the Musalmans of India. In order to "get at the head through the heart," Abdul administered medical aid gratuitously to the poor, which proved with several parties the first step in their introduction to the Christian fold; though it excited the indignation of the native doctors, who found their trade on the decline in consequence.

"In 1818 Abdul made a visit to Delhi; his arrival was made known to the Great Moghul, who applied to him for a copy of the Gospels in Arabic.

"In 1826 Abdul was ordained. This excited a strong sensation among the natives, as he was the first Musalman who became a minister of the Gospel. It gave him, however, influence over his countrymen. . . . His Ordination had so authenticated him as a character approved of by the Church Missionary Society, that on his way up from Calcutta to Agra he was treated, wherever he came, with the most marked respect, and on Easter Sunday of that year he administered the Eucharist in the Urdu language to Europeans, native Christians, Romanists, and Armenians."

After Abdul's death two distinguished missionaries, originally German Lutherans, who had received Anglican

Orders, worked in the Church Missionary Society Mission at Agra, the Rev. T. Hoernle and the Rev. G. Pfander. Hoernle was a really great organiser and Pfander was a great linguist. Pfander was originally a member of the Basel Mission, which started its work in a part of Persia bordering on Armenia and Russia. Owing to the jealousy of the Armenian and Russian Clergy, the mission removed to India, and some of its missionaries, amongst whom was Pfander, joined our Church Missionary Society.

During the middle of the last century St. John's College, Agra, was founded as a missionary centre of the first importance by the Rev. Thomas Valpy French, afterwards Bishop of Lahore. Those who have read Bishop French's Life will recall the interest of its early days and how splendidly the Christian students of St. John's College behaved during the Mutiny. Mr. French was assisted by the Rev. E. C. Stuart, who was afterwards Bishop of Waiapu, in New Zealand. This College has under a number of able Principals been doing a remarkable work for the Church ever since it was started. Mr. Haythornthwaite was Principal for many years, and was succeeded by the present Bishop of Lahore, the Right Rev. H. B. Durrant. To the present Principal, the Rev. Canon A. W. Davies, the College owes a deep debt. Partly through his generosity and partly through the Pan-Anglican and Government grants, fine College buildings have been erected. Canon Davies has also endowed certain Lectureships in the College.

We have written at some length about the early missionary work at Agra. It would be possible, if space permitted, to write almost as fully of the work which has been carried on for long periods in other large cities of the United Provinces, such as Benares, Lucknow, Allahabad, Cawnpore, and Meerut.

Benares will for ever be linked with the memory of Daniel Corrie, first Bishop of Madras. During his Chaplaincy in Benares, which began in November 1817, he did all in his power to spread the knowledge of our Lord in that great heathen city. Under his influence Maharajah Jay Narayan Ghosal, a wealthy man, opened a High School for Indian children. It is the oldest High School in the United Provinces. The school was established, in the words of the Maharajah Narayan, "for the Name of Jesus Christ for education in English, Bengalese, Persian, and Hindi." It was entrusted to the care of the Church Missionary Society. In early days it

received a monthly gift from no less a person than the Governor-General in Council. In September 1824, Bishop Heber visited the school and writes of it as follows :—" The boys were fond of the New Testament, and I can answer for their understanding it ; I wish a majority of English boys might appear equally well informed." Though but few boys have confessed Christ openly while at school and some few more took the step after leaving school, yet all missionaries agree that this school has made a deep and lasting impression on the boys who attended it. The school still flourishes under Mr. W. D. P. Hill, formerly an Assistant-Master at Eton. Attached to this school is a hostel which has for its motto " Live pure, Speak true, Right wrong, Follow the King," and all the boarders within it, whether Christian or non-Christian, are encouraged to approach life in the spirit of religion.

Two of the earlier Church Missionary Society missionaries in Benares have also left names which will never be forgotten : the Rev. W. Smith and the Rev. C. B. Leupolt, who laboured there for many years and were greatly blessed in their work. Many Indians, some of them of high caste, were added to the Christian Church during their period, and a Christian settlement, with a Church School and other branches of work, was established at Sigra on the edge of Benares.

When Bishop Heber visited Meerut he was especially struck by the splendid work of its Chaplain, the Rev. J. Fisher. It was the work which he did at Meerut, assisted by Captain and Mrs. Sherwood (who were, one recalls, great friends of Henry Martyn) which prepared the way for the Church Missionary Society missionaries who were afterwards appointed to that station. In an interesting pamphlet, entitled *A Century of Work in Meerut of the C.M.S.*, we have an admirable description of the way in which work has developed in that station and in the rural districts around it during the last two or three generations.

As in Agra, so later on in Meerut, Mr. Hoernle did a great work during his lifetime. Not far from Meerut is Sardhana, the capital of a small native state, which formerly belonged to Walter Regnaut, a French military adventurer, who was called in India Sombre or Somroo. In the life of Bishop Wilson we have already read of the handsome gift to our Church from this Frenchman's Indian wife, better known

as the Begum Sumroo. Work at Sardhana has recently developed in a remarkable way, and it is now the centre of one of the Mass Movements towards Christianity in Northern India.

Allahabad and Lucknow have all got their interesting tales to tell of valuable missionary effort connected with the Church Missionary Society. During the last few years there has been a well-marked movement towards Christianity amongst the Chamars, or leather-workers, in some of the country districts of the diocese, notably in the districts of Meerut, Moradabad and Bulandshar. The total number of Indian Christians in the diocese belonging to the English Church is now 13,000, as contrasted with 5447 in 1890.

It is unnecessary to write at length on the S.P.G. Mission at Cawnpore, as an admirable history of the Mission has already been written. Started by Henry Martyn in the early years of the nineteenth century, it received its first body of missionaries from the S.P.G. in 1833. Of these original missionaries the Rev. W. H. Heycock was amongst that great body of Englishmen, Englishwomen, and children, numbering about 1000, who were cruelly massacred by Nana Sahib's orders in 1857. Some of my readers may remember the Rev. Roger Dutt, an able and eloquent Bengali clergyman, who worked in this Mission for eighteen years with marked success. Undoubtedly the wonderful development of this Mission will always be closely associated with the names of two brothers, the present Metropolitan and the Bishop of Lucknow. Under their inspiration the Cawnpore Brotherhood was formed in 1895, and from that time onward all kinds of valuable missionary activities have been undertaken in this Mission. Amongst these were the Industrial Workshops, started by Foss Westcott, which included a printing-press, carpentry shop, and brass foundry, to train Christian lads. Medical work, especially on the women's side, was started, and the lady doctors of St. Katherine's Hospital have had a fine record of valuable work. The success of their original Indian Mission High School led the missionaries to start classes up to University standard, and so the High School developed into the College of Christ Church. Another feature of the Mission is its strong Zenana Mission staff, which is doing a great work in the city of Cawnpore.

To the present Bishop of Lucknow, the Right Rev. George Westcott, we are indebted for the following facts

connected with his diocese: "The number of the Clergy in the diocese varies: it has risen as high as ninety, at the present time it is eighty-two. Of these twenty-four are Government Chaplains, eight Diocesan (Additional Clergy Society) Chaplains, ministering to the European congregations not supplied with Government Chaplains, and forty-nine missionaries or Indian Clergy—thirty-four serving in connection with the Church Missionary Society, and fifteen in connection with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. It is a tradition of the diocese, carefully fostered by Bishop Clifford, that brotherly love should characterise the relations of the Clergy one towards another.

"Four of the Government Chaplains minister to civil and the rest to military congregations. Lucknow is the headquarters of the Eastern Command. The number of British soldiers in the diocese who are members of our Church is on the average, 10,000. The principal cantonments in the diocese are at Lucknow, Meerut, Bareilly, Allahabad, Cawnpore, and Chakrata. In all of these stations, with the exception of Jhansi, there are Institutes for Soldiers, five in connection with our Church, four Sandes Homes, and two controlled by the Y.M.C.A. Other European members of our Church number about 9000; one-third of these are connected with railways and the rest associated with Government or business concerns.

"The Church is called upon to contribute generously to the salaries of eight Diocesan or Additional Clergy Society Chaplains, and towards the education of European children. The Free Schools in Allahabad, for the existence of which we are chiefly indebted to the Chaplains who laid the foundations of the diocese, the McConaghey School at Lucknow and Dunbarnie School at Mussoorie, help to supply the requirements of the children who are least well off. We have two High Schools in Allahabad, one for boys and one for girls, both with boarding establishments, and subsidiary Church Schools in Agra, Meerut, and Dehra Dun. Our Boarding Schools in the hills have been reduced to three in number—the Boys' School at Mussoorie, once so well known as Stokes School, closed down some years ago on account of financial difficulties. Our present policy is to concentrate on certain schools and make them as efficient as possible. Our Girls' Schools at Mussoorie and Naini Tal are doing well, the latter under the management of members of the Com-

munity of the Holy Family. Both schools in Naini Tal have had a chequered career. At one time the debt on the Girls' School amounted to about Rs.85,000. At this crisis the All Saints' Community of Poona and Bombay came to our rescue, paying this amount to the diocese for school buildings to clear the debt, and undertaking to run the school on behalf of the Church. It was agreed that, should the Community at any time be unable to continue this work, it should give the diocese the opportunity of re-buying the school. In accordance with this agreement, the Mother Superior notified the Bishop in 1914, that the Community was unable to continue the work. It was calculated that the Community had spent on the school altogether Rs.100,000 and that a further sum of Rs.22,000 was due to them on account of furniture and other fittings. In response to an appeal from the Bishop, the Government offered to make a grant of Rs.65,000 for the re-purchase of the property, provided the Church was able to contribute a like amount. At that time a substantial sum had been made over to the Province from the Pan-Anglican Thank-offering Fund for educational purposes, and a grant of Rs.65,000 was made to this diocese for the re-purchase of the school estate and buildings. At the request of the Ven. Oscar Watkins, the Community of the Holy Family, whose members have now risen to the number at which it is permitted to undertake work abroad, kindly came to our assistance and is now in control of the school.

"Sherwood, the house in which the Boys' School had been established, was acquired by Government to form part of the new Government House estate. The school was for a while accommodated in various buildings, and after some time was provided with a new home on Ayarpatta Hill at the cost of Government. Those who have had experience in the management of European schools in India know how difficult it is to keep the expenditure within the school's income. On more than one occasion the Government has come to the rescue of the school and paid off its debt, but we have now reached a time when school fees have to be raised to a figure such as will secure equilibrium between income and expenditure.

"A considerable number of scholarships are provided for the children of poor parents, partly by endowment and partly with the help of annual subscriptions.

"Our Diocesan Council decided in 1919 that our Victory Thank-offering Fund should be devoted to educational work in the hills, and a Preparatory School is now under construction in connection with the Girls' School (All Saints) at Naini Tal. The new block of buildings, estimated to cost Rs.250,000, will also provide accommodation for members of the Teachers' Training Class.

"The Boys' School has also been recently provided with a Hospital. In the case of both these buildings, half cost has been defrayed by Government and half from the Victory Thank-offering Fund. We hope that before long a new block of buildings will be provided for the Boys' School. This block will contain dormitories, class-rooms, and accommodation for two masters and a matron, and will enable us to raise the number of boarders in the school to 200. An endowment fund of Rs.75,000 on behalf of these two schools has also been established as part of the Diocesan Victory Thank-offering.

"Up to the present time the Roman Church has had a great advantage over our Church, in that it is able to secure the services of well-qualified teachers at no great cost. We look forward to the time when our Church in England will provide Teaching Brotherhoods for the benefit of European Schools in India.

"During the last few years a steady effort has been made to Indianise Mission work, and to give to Indian Christians self-government in co-operation with such Europeans as they may invite to co-operate with them. These efforts have been forwarded by the readiness on the part of the Church Missionary Society to diocesanise its work. We look forward to the time when, under Indian leadership and guidance, Indian members of our Church will make the Faith of Christ a far greater power in the land than it is at the present time.

"It is often assumed that members of our Church in India are lacking in generosity. I would note that last year (1921) European members of our Church in this diocese contributed Rs.200,000 to Church and philanthropic work, including Rs.35,575 raised under the Diocesan Assessment Scheme. In addition to this sum much will have been given in ways that are not recorded. The recorded offerings of Indian congregations during the same period amounted to Rs.17,720. We are doing our best to encourage systematic almsgiving."

CHAPTER XXIII

THE DIOCESE OF TINNEVELLY AND MADURA, 1896

(A Self-supporting Diocese)

BISHOPS

1. SAMUEL MORLEY, consecrated 1896; resigned 1913.
2. ARTHUR ACHESON WILLIAMS, consecrated 1905; died 1914.
3. EDWARD HARRY MANSFIELD WALLER, consecrated in St. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta, on November 28, 1915; transferred to Madras 1923.
4. NORMAN HENRY TUBBS, consecrated 1923.

BOOKS OF REFERENCE.—*A History of Missions in India*, by Julius Richter; *History of S.P.C.K. Mission*, by Caldwell; *History of Christianity in India*, by Hough; *The Church in Madras*, by Penny; *Schwartz of Tanjore*, by Page; *Memoirs of Schwartz*, by Dean Pearson; *Centenary History of C.M.S. in Tinnevelly*, by Paul Appaswami; *South Indian Missions*, by Sharrock; *Things as they are*, by Miss Amy Carmichael; *Overweights of Joy*, by Miss Amy Carmichael.

THOUGH the Diocese of Tinnevelly is one of the most recently formed dioceses of the Anglican Church in India, it has probably a larger Indian Christian population than any other. The reason for this can easily be stated. It was in this part of India that the famous Lutheran missionaries, supported so largely by the S.P.C.K., laboured throughout the eighteenth century and made so large a number of converts.

The Diocese of Tinnevelly includes the three Government Districts of Tinnevelly, Ramnad, and Madura, which are the most southern districts in British India. They lie side by side with the Native States of Travancore and Cochin, only separated by a lofty range of mountains. These three districts of the Tinnevelly Diocese were famous in the past days of Indian history. Together they formed the Kingdom of the Pandyas, who claim a mythical ancestry, celebrated in the *Mahabharata*. There can be no doubt the rulers of this country were men who loved to build beautiful temples and forts, and if one wants to see really fine Hindu temples one has to leave North India and go down to the Tinnevelly Diocese. The bulk of the population of this diocese are Tamils, though there are a certain number of Telugus dotted about this area. It was in this part of India that St. Francis

Xavier won his great triumphs as a missionary amongst the Paravas of the East Coast. He is believed to have baptised thousands of them, the larger percentage of whom were quite illiterate. Strange to relate, the descendants of these Paravas have remained Christians to the present day, and, following the example of their former Hindu rulers, have erected all down the coast interesting and picturesque Churches. The number of Roman Catholic Christians in this diocese is about 20,000, or nearly double the number of Anglicans.

We have already referred in former chapters to the work started at Tranquebar by the Danish Mission early in the eighteenth century. Readers of Richter's *History of Missions in India*, and of Penny's valuable book *The Church in Madras*, realise the nature and extent of the work started and carried on by these missionaries for nearly a hundred years, until at length the English Church, awaking to a fuller sense of its duties, sent out Englishmen and Englishwomen to share in this great enterprise.

Tinnevelly is a part of the Mission Field which has in its records many names of devoted men and women. Unlike the heroes of the Lahore Diocese, who laboured amongst a warlike and virile race of militant Moslems, our missionaries in South India have had to work in an area which is more completely Hinduised, more superstitious, and more caste-bound than any other part of India.

Some of the English missionaries gave long periods of service to the work. In spite of the obstinate way in which he clung to his opinions, the missionary Rhenius did a great work. Along with him we may also mention the names of Tucker, Schaffter, Pettit, Ragland, Sargent, Caldwell and Pope. Like other missions, Tinnevelly has had successions of members of one family handing on the inheritance of work from parent to child. Two such are the Schaffter and Thomas families, represented in the diocese to-day.

In 1877 a great famine brought a large influx of people into the Church, a good deal of the fruits of which were retained. Tinnevelly rejoices in a Council system made up of Pastorate, Circle and District Councils, which has been adopted widely in C.M.S. Missions in India. This system, which it owes to the Rev. John Barton, has borne most happy fruit, and at the present time self-support and self-government are more conspicuous in this

diocese than anywhere else in India. To-day Tinnevelly raises more than enough to pay its ninety Indian Clergy. It has built many Churches, large and small, through money raised in its Indian congregations, and it manages budgets as big as those of many an Indian Mission.

The first Bishop of Tinnevelly, the Rev. Samuel Morley, was consecrated in the year 1896. He had been a Government Chaplain, and for some time Chaplain to Bishop Gill of Madras. Before his Consecration, however, everything had been prepared for the formation of the diocese, through the appointment of two distinguished missionaries as Assistant-Bishops to the Bishop of Madras. These two missionary leaders, Bishop Sargent of the Church Missionary Society, and Bishop Caldwell of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, were consecrated in the time of Bishop Johnson, to take Episcopal oversight of the Christians of their respective Societies. It may not have been an ideal arrangement in principle, but in practice it worked fairly well. Both Bishops were men of immense learning and piety, and, though belonging to different Societies, were most cordial in their relations one to another. Working under Bishop Caldwell, who was, it may be mentioned, the most distinguished Dravidian scholar of the day, were two distinguished missionaries, Margoschis of Nazareth and Sharrock of Tuticorin. Working in connection with the Church Missionary Society were Thomas Walker, a man of extreme devotion, and Carr, a much-beloved missionary. There were also several distinguished Indian Clergy—the Rev. Rao Sahib Paul, Rev. G. Simeon, and Canon Gnanakkan.

"The Diocese of Tinnevelly is almost entirely Indian," writes Bishop Waller, "there being only four European congregations of any size. The Indian congregations are organised into ninety Pastorates, thirty Circles, and two Central Councils. In 1917 a Diocesan Council was formed, and this awakened the diocesan spirit so that plans are nearly complete for merging all the separate Society organisations into one Central Diocesan scheme. The Diocesan Committee has been incorporated and holds property and funds formerly held and administered by the Missionary Societies. The division of the diocese into Pastorates, made by Bishops Sargent and Caldwell, was so complete that every village, Hindu or Christian, has definitely the responsibility of some parish, and there is a steady though

not very rapid flow of villages into the Church. The adult baptisms average about 1000 every year."

Higher education and the training of teachers are still supported by the Missionary Societies, though Tinnevelly College is partly financed and wholly controlled by the Church Council. The education of girls is not so extensive as that of boys, but it is efficient. The Sarah Tucker College in Palamcottah, and the High School at Nazareth are the chief institutions, and there are numerous branch and other schools of lower grade still helped by the missions.

Three famous institutions must be separately mentioned. Miss Askwith's School for the Blind at Palamcottah is probably the first and best of its kind in India. She has now retired, but it is carried on by an ex-officer (himself blinded in the war) and his wife. Miss Swainson (C.E.Z.M.S.) has just retired from the Deaf and Dumb School she founded, and this school, with its connected schools in Madras and Ceylon, is carried on by her helpers and successors. Miss Carmichael, with a band of ladies who form a sort of informal sisterhood, carries on her famous schools in Dohnavur, a little village in the south of Tinnevelly. Industrial work for boys is efficiently cared for at Nazareth, and the lace-making schools, which Mrs. Caldwell and others have founded to employ the women, are well known. The C.E.Z.M.S. have a small but efficient evangelistic and training work.

"The bulk of the Christians of Tinnevelly come from the Nadar caste, which was long ago noted as a community of people naturally inclined to Christianity. They are enterprising, hardworking, and generous. They travel far and wide, and little colonies of them are to be found in Africa, Mauritius, North India, Rangoon, Malaysia, and very large numbers in the plantations in Ceylon and India. Their cheerful giving is illustrated, not only by the support of their clergy and their insatiable Church-building, but in the Indian Missionary Society of Tinnevelly, which sends out its own missionaries to Dornakal Diocese and raises some Rs.18,000 a year for the support of the work.

"There is much promise for Indian Christianity in the Tinnevelly Church. Its influence has spread far and wide. Let its evangelistic zeal be further quickened, let its still unconquered caste feeling be wholly subdued, and there is nothing it could not accomplish by the power of the Holy Spirit for the spread of Christianity in India."

CHAPTER XXIV

THE DIOCESE OF NAGPUR, 1903

(The Country of Gond, Mahratta, and Rajput)

FIRST BISHOP

EYRE CHATTERTON, D.D., consecrated March 25, 1903.

BOOKS OF REFERENCE.—*The Story of Gondwana*, by the Bishop of Nagpur; Forsyth's *Highlands of Central India*; Tod's *Rajasthan; Land of Princes*, by Miss G. Festing.

"ONE half of the romance of Indian history is to be found within the Nagpur Diocese," was a remark of a former Metropolitan to its first Bishop. For, although the diocese takes its title from Nagpur, the present capital of the British-administered area of the Central Provinces, it includes within its boundaries Rajputana, the land of Princes, and home of Rajput chivalry, as well as Central India, with its historic Mahratta states of Gwalior and Indore, Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand with their Rajput rulers, and Bhopal, a famous Mahomedan state. The extent of the Diocese of Nagpur is apparent to any one who studies a map of India, touching as it does the Bay of Bengal on its eastern side, the desert of Scindh on its western side, and coming in contact with no less than seven of the other Indian Dioceses at various points.

When our Anglican Dioceses in India were in the making, it was always hard to know how to deal with this great central block of the peninsula with its scattered communities of Christians, few very large and most of them quite small. Bishop Johnson, to whom the Indian Church owes so much for the organisation of our diocesan system, was growingly convinced that it was impossible for any Bishop of Calcutta effectively to supervise this central area; and so, after taking a leading part in the formation of five new dioceses, he took the preliminary steps to promote the scheme for a Bishopric in the Central Provinces. The Bishopric, however, was not created till after his resignation. The endowment

THE NEW SCHOOL HOUSE, JUBBULPORE.

of the new See was mainly raised by Bishop Wilkinson, the Bishop of North and Central Europe. To this Government added the salary of a senior Chaplain.

On March 25, 1903, the first Bishop, who had been for some years Head of the Dublin University Mission to Chota-Nagpur, was consecrated in St. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta.

We have already alluded to the peculiarly interesting nature of these great central regions of India. No picture of the Nagpur Diocese would be in the least true to fact if it did not make clear how peculiarly heterogeneous it is, and what marked contrast exists between its various peoples. When one has been living in the rather desert-like country of Rajputana with its treeless red hills, its fine cities and strong fortresses, and its fine-looking men and women with their picturesque dresses, one notices the sharp contrast between it and the magnificent jungles of the Central Provinces with their primitive snub-nosed and lightly clad Gond peoples who make up about two millions of its people. Not that all was entirely savage and primitive in Gondwana, which was once the proud possessor of four kingdoms, whose Gond princes lived their lives much on the model of the great chiefs of Northern India.

But while from a traveller's point of view the interest of the country is increased by its great variety and contrasts, from a diocesan point of view it becomes all the more difficult. and even if one was a master of the eight or nine different languages spoken within its bounds, one would still find it hard to weld into anything like an effective diocesan unit such a varied mass of humanity.

The work of the Nagpur Diocese, like that indeed of most other Indian Dioceses, is of two kinds—pastoral and evangelistic. We have to care for those who are already Christians, which involves the education of a number of Anglo-Indian children and not a few Indian Christians, and we are called on to attempt the evangelisation of a vast non-Christian population. Probably one is fairly near the truth when one says that 15,000 Christians are all that come under the pastoral care of the Bishop and his Clergy at present, though the population of the diocese must be at least 40 millions and the territories it includes about twice the size of England. The number of the Clergy before the Great War was approaching fifty, to-day it is just above forty. Of these half are Chaplains, Government and Additional

Clergy Society, and the remainder Missionaries and Indian Clergy. The number of the latter is now a dozen, which is a matter for thankfulness, as it is in this direction the Church must go forward in the future.

Our Government Chaplains are working in military and civil stations, such as Jubbulpore, Mhow, Nagpur, Neemuch, Nasirabad, Kamptee, Saugor and Amraoti. In several of our military stations we have Soldiers' Institutes. The Institutes at Kamptee and Mhow are both extremely well equipped. Recently a small Institute at Nagpur has been opened for the soldiers in the Fort of Sitabaldi by the enterprise and energy of a well-known lady in the Central Provinces. Our four Additional Clergy Society Chaplains are engaged chiefly in work along the Indian Railways and have their headquarters at Ajmer, and Bandikui in Rajputana, at Indore in Central India, and at Bilaspur in the Central Provinces.

We have important schools for the Anglo-Indian community at Jubbulpore and Nagpur. At Jubbulpore the Christ Church Boys' School and Girls' School have won a deservedly high reputation. Started years ago by the Rev. T. D. Grey, Chaplain of Jubbulpore, in the Church Vestry, it was then attended by only seven or eight boys. Within a few years the school was removed to a house in Civil Lines, and Mr. Harcourt was appointed headmaster. Later on a Girls' Department was started. Its history has been one of steady growth, until at the present time it is educating between 250 and 300 children, with 100 boarders in the Boys' School and about 60 in the Girls' School.

The Bishop Cotton School, Nagpur, started in the year 1863, during the Episcopate of Bishop Cotton, was one of the many schools which owed their existence to the immense impetus given by him to Anglo-Indian education. It is a combined school for boys and girls and has now about 160 scholars. There is a boarding-house for boys, and quite recently a very handsome Home and Hostel has been built for girls attending the Bishop Cotton School.

While our Church has two small missions in Rajputana, one at Ajmer connected with the S.P.G. and another at Bharatpur connected with the Church Missionary Society, the centre of our missionary work is to be found in the Central Provinces at Jubbulpore, Katni, Nagpur, Chanda,

and in the Mandla district. Not that we are the only Church engaged in missionary activities in these regions, for in Rajputana the United Free Church of Scotland, and in Central India the Canadian Presbyterian Church, are doing splendid work. In Nagpur itself and in some of the surrounding country the United Free Church of Scotland has been working for two generations. Their work was started by Stephen Hislop, one of the ablest missionaries who has ever worked in India. The College in Nagpur which bears his name has turned out numbers of well-educated and able men who have distinguished themselves in civil life. Their Women's Hospital under Mrs. Henderson's care and their general women's work are above all praise. One of their ladies, Miss Small, has specialised in schools for Indian girls which are run on admirable and attractive lines.

At our mission centre in Jubbulpore, where sixty years ago the Church Missionary Society started work, we have to acknowledge somewhat sadly that other missionary bodies, like the American Methodist Episcopal Mission and the Disciples of Christ, with their much stronger staffs, are pressing into places once occupied by us, which we have had to abandon through lack of men and money.

The missionary problems in the Central Provinces are in some respects unlike those which obtain in most other parts of India. The Mahomedan population is, with the exception of Berar, neither large nor influential; the large Hindu population is in many parts still illiterate; and there are over two million aboriginal Gonds, not to speak of other tribes of aborigines, Kols, Kurkus, and Merias.

Few, however doubtful or unsympathetic as to missionary work amongst the highly educated Hindus or Mahomedans, will ever raise any opposition to the Church's endeavour to evangelise the devil-worshipping aborigines. The late Sir Charles Elliott, when Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, speaking of missionary work in India, dwelt especially on the importance of work amongst the aborigines, and added that there was no sphere in which the great truths of Christianity, more especially the Fatherhood of God, seemed to find a more congenial soil than amongst those spiritually degraded devil-worshippers.

It is an interesting fact that the first Christian Mission to the Gonds, the largest aboriginal race in the Central Provinces, was started and largely supported by one who

in after-years became a distinguished Indian Administrator, and who finished his career as Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab.

The following is taken from the present writer's book, *The Story of Gondwana* :—

" In the year 1831 Mr. Donald McLeod was appointed to the Department for the suppression of Thuggee under the superintendence of Colonel W. Sleeman, and was stationed at Saugor. Shortly afterwards he was transferred to Seoni as Deputy Commissioner, where he remained for several years. During this time he formed the deepest affection for this beautiful Satpura district and for the simple-minded Gonds. So strongly did this fancy grow, that at one time he even wished to spend the remainder of his career among the Gonds, and declined several better appointments in other parts of the country. He writes from Seoni in the following strain :—

" 'I look upon my lot as fixed in this country, a land of wondrous interest, albeit at present in the darkness of night.'

" A few years later, in 1840, Mr. McLeod was appointed to Jubbulpore as Deputy Commissioner. It was then that he carried out his long-conceived plan of commencing a Christian Mission among the Gonds. 'He had long felt,' so his biographer tells us, 'that the simple habits of this primitive race afforded an admirable field for Christian effort, and he had for some time past endeavoured to enlist the sympathy and co-operation of Christian people at Calcutta and elsewhere in his cherished project. He had written a long and interesting article on this subject in the *Calcutta Christian Observer*, in which he endeavoured to show that the best plan was to start an agricultural mission settlement amongst them.

" As no English Missionary Society was willing to take up this idea, he acted upon it himself, and applied to Pastor Gossner, of Berlin, who sent out to him a little band of German artisans and husbandmen (a carpenter, a schoolmaster, and an apothecary were amongst the number) to work among the Gonds. They were placed under the superintendence of the Rev. Alois Loesch, a Lutheran Minister, who had previously worked in South India.

" The missionary band arrived at Jubbulpore in 1841, and shortly afterwards proceeded to the Satpura Highlands,

making their central station at the village of Karanjia, in the Mandla District, about fourteen miles from the source of the Nerbudda and Amarkantak. There they lived in a simple fashion, building their bungalow with their own hands.

"Shortly after their arrival at Karanjia, Mr. McLeod was able to pay them a visit. He was delighted at what appeared to be the happy commencement of favourable mission work amongst the Gonds.

"We have a few interesting lines from the pen of the leader of this missionary enterprise, the Rev. A. Loesch, which were written at this period :—

"'Karanjia is one of the finest places I have seen in India. It is sixteen miles to the west of Amarkantak, and situated on the road to that place; it is often visited by hosts of fakirs and ghosains, who extort the last coin from the poor ignorant Gonds, whom we shall no longer suffer to be maltreated by that idle and wicked set of people. The climate is almost European, the soil very fertile, and the water delicious.'"

The first few months had passed, and the sky seemed unclouded, when there fell on this small missionary band a calamity as sudden as it was terrible. Early in the rains an epidemic of cholera swept over this neighbourhood, and within a few weeks four of the mission band were dead, and a fifth lay between life and death. The doctor was unfortunately the first to die, and this fact may have been partly responsible for the death of the others. One of the survivors lost his reason, and died not long afterwards, the others joined Stephen Hislop in Nagpur and died three years later. Within a few months of its starting the mission had ceased to exist.

In the winter of 1903 I paid my first visit to the Mandla District, to visit our Church Missionary Society's mission stations. On my way to Amarkantak I determined to visit Karanjia, the scene of this tragedy. On arriving at the village my companions and I found the grave of these four German missionaries in a deplorable state. The stone cross which had stood at the head had been maliciously broken by a Mahomedan fanatic. This mutilated grave alone remained to mark where these good men had lived and died.

The Rev. H. Molony, now Bishop of Chekiang in China,

afterwards wrote a short pamphlet called *A Forgotten Tragedy*, describing the death of these devoted men. Later on we took steps to have the grave repaired, when we placed a solid Maltese cross horizontally on the slab which covers the grave. On each of the four arms of the Cross the name of one of the departed missionaries is inscribed, namely, the Rev. Alois Loesch, Julius Schleisner, Karl Gatzky, and Heinrich Gossner. Underneath are written in the Hindi language the beautiful words, "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord."

Such was the hard fate which befell Mr. McLeod's endeavours to establish a mission amongst the Gonds. That it should have ended with such tragic suddenness is all the more mysterious when one reflects on the remarkable results achieved by Pastor Gossner's Mission in Chota-Nagpur, a mission which was established at much the same time.

Within a year or two of this tragedy Mr. McLeod was transferred to Benares, and later on to the Punjab, where in due course he became Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab.

After Mr. McLeod's departure nothing was done to evangelise the Gonds for some years. Ten years later another civilian, Mr. Mosley Smith, then Sessions Judge of Jubbulpore, in consultation with Mr. Dawson, the Chaplain of Jubbulpore, obtained from the Church Missionary Society the funds necessary to support a missionary sent out by Pastor Gossner. The name of this missionary was the Rev. J. W. Rebsch. A High School for Indian boys was started by him in the city. Later on the Rev. E. A. Stuart (afterwards Bishop of Waiapu in New Zealand) was for a time stationed by the Church Missionary Society in Jubbulpore, and did some work amongst the Gonds.

Not, however, until the arrival of the Rev. E. Champion, in 1860, was work pressed on with full vigour. During the twenty-one years of Mr. Champion's labours in this part of India he accomplished a great deal. Of the many boys trained in his orphanage near Mandla, one, the Rev. Failbus, was destined to be the first Indian Clergyman in the Gond Mission, and is still working at Mandla.

Towards the end of Mr. Champion's period the Rev. H. D. Williamson joined the Mission, and laid the main foundations of the existing work amongst the Gonds of the Mandla District. The Gondi language was, under his guidance, reduced to writing, and a Hindi grammar and vocabulary

were prepared by him. Portions of the New Testament and numerous Bible stories were translated into Gondi. A valuable hymn-book was also translated by him into Hindi, a language understood by most of the Gonds in the Satpuras.

The story of Mr. Williamson's first Gond convert is so typical of the earliest stage in conversion amongst some of the most spiritual of our aboriginal Christians, that I venture to tell it, very much as it is told in Mr. Fryer's book, *The Story of the Gond Mission.*

Bhoi Baba was the headman of a village, and "a devotee." His reputation for religious devotion was widespread. He had learnt to read, and was in the habit of spending long periods in meditation. On one occasion he spent weeks meditating on a huge rock in the middle of a river, and on another spent a similar period under a large pipal tree in his own village.

Hearing of his devotion, Mr. Williamson determined to visit him in his village. On the day of his arrival, however, at the Bhoi's village, he heard with deep regret that the Bhoi was absent and would not be back for days. Much to his surprise and delight, however, shortly before night fell, the Bhoi walked into his village. Nor was Mr. Williamson's delight lessened when the Bhoi told him, "that when he had travelled about ten miles from his village, something had said to him, 'Go back to your village at once.'"

Then began a course of instruction which led to his conversion and baptism a few months later.

Since Mr. Williamson's departure from the mission several missionaries of our Church have worked in this district for longer or shorter periods, amongst whom were the Rev. H. P. Parker and the Rev. H. Molony, both of whom were taken from this jungle mission to fill important missionary Bishoprics in other parts of the world.

The Rev. H. P. Parker, after a short period of service in the Mandla District, was appointed as successor to Bishop Hannington, the Martyr Bishop of Uganda. Unfortunately, on his way from the coast to his diocese in the heart of Africa, he contracted fever and died before reaching Uganda. The other missionary to the Gonds similarly honoured was the Rev. Herbert Molony, now Bishop of Chekiang in China. With deep devotion he laboured for many years amongst the Gonds of the Mandla District.

This mission is indeed full of promise, if only more workers of the right kind can be found for it. One of its greatest needs is a medical missionary, and another is a missionary with practical knowledge of farming. Whether one sees it at Patpara, with its schools, orphanage, and leper settlement, at present under the management of the Rev. J. L. Wakeling ; or at its little agricultural settlement at Deori, where Mr. and Mrs. Charles are directing operations ; or away in the heart of the jungle at Marpha, where the Rev. E. D. Price (beloved of the Gonds) lived for so many years, one can easily understand the feelings which Sir Donald McLeod felt in days gone by for these people and their beautiful jungle country.

It would be an easy and pleasant task to tell of the excellent missionary work which has been carried on by our Church in Jubbulpore and Katni for many years past. One could speak of missionaries like Gill, Warren, and Hensley, who did a great work in their time and were much beloved by the people. Just now, when our missionary staff is weaker than it ever has been in this area, and when recently we have had to close down our fine High School for Indian Boys for financial reasons, we are more in the position of people who have to thank God for great blessings in the past than of people who are looking forward to a great future.

We have, however, still some work being carried on in this area of which we may justly be proud. It has had a devoted body of lady workers of the Church of England Zenana Mission, amongst whom the names of Miss Branch and Miss Hall will not soon be forgotten. At Katni, near Jubbulpore, we have a High School for Christian Girls in Miss Bardsley's charge, which still holds a leading place among such institutions in the Central Provinces.

When we leave Jubbulpore and the northern part of the Central Provinces and come away south to our missions at Chanda and Nagpur, we find ourselves in a very different atmosphere and with a different type of people. Our Mission at Chanda is one of peculiar interest. Like more than one mission of our Church in India, it owes its commencement to an Indian Chaplain. In the year 1870, when Chaplain of Nagpur, the Rev. G. T. Carruthers first urged the claims of India on the Episcopal Church of Scotland. Hitherto that Church had directed its foreign missionary efforts almost exclusively to work in South Africa.

The earlier efforts of the Chanda Mission were carried on largely by Indian workers. For a time the saintly Father Nehemiah Goreh, commonly called "Nilkant Shastri," a converted Mahratta Brahman, worked in Chanda. As one who can recall his unique personality, one appreciates deeply Bishop Wood's description of Nehemiah Goreh's work and influence in Chanda. Of him he writes :—

" His memory is still green. I have heard from many lips the tale of his argument with Pilba, the Guru of the Kabir Panthis, of his casting down of the god of the Mahars, that stood on the wall by the Pathanpura gate, and thereby converting one family, and frightening another family so that they fled to the Nizam's Dominions to escape the wrath of that god, and have not returned to this place. . . . But the story that I like best of all is how he used to preach in the bazaar. They tell of him as a slim figure dressed in a white cassock. Round his neck was a rosary of wooden beads, and attached to it a wooden cross. In his hand he held a heavy wooden cross, that stood higher than his head, and on this he leaned. People passed and re-passed, going about their business, but he stood still, taking no notice of them whatever. But as he stood silent there, for an hour, perhaps, or more, the people noted, watched, stood around at a distance, waiting shyly, for whether he were a Christian or not, at least he was a Brahman. Then, at last, when a circle had gathered round him in the cool of the evening, he preached to them of Christ."

Under his saintly influence the mission grew, and when he left Chanda in 1874 he had already gathered out from heathenism a small body of Christians. Then for twenty years the mission was entrusted to the care of the Rev. Israel Jacob, until the arrival of the Rev. A. Wood (now Bishop of Chota-Nagpur), in December, 1898. With his arrival the mission took on a new lease of life. After a short and difficult period during which he was single-handed, Mr. Wood was joined by the Rev. G. D. Philip, who has been working in the mission with immense devotion ever since. Later on the mission received a new recruit in the person of the Rev. J. R. McKenzie, who since Canon Wood's election to the Episcopate as Bishop of Chota-Nagpur, has taken his place as Head of the Mission. The Mission has now five Indian Priests and four or five lady workers, one of whom is a lady doctor. For the last two years they have been

fortunate in having the services of the Rev. Kenneth Mackenzie, M.C., D.S.O., formerly an I.M.S. doctor, who, after distinguished service as a doctor in France during the Great War, volunteered for two years' work in India to help the mission. The mission staff was and is very weak, and as no young man would volunteer, Mr. Mackenzie has given two years to Chanda. The mission is shortly expecting a young Priest and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Bisset, to strengthen their staff. In addition to schools and a large Indian Orphanage, there is a very interesting Christian settlement at Durgapur, three miles from Chanda, which is already showing considerable signs of promise. Its people are on the whole prosperous and independent, and its headman is a keen evangelist.

The Rev. Canon G. D. Philip is carrying on the mission work of the Scottish Episcopal Church in Nagpur and neighbourhood, assisted by two Indian Clergy. He has opened several important schools and the Mission Church, dedicated to St. Thomas, which is well on its way to completion, will one day, we believe, be one of the finest Churches in this diocese. The work of this mission is full of promise, and we can only trust that many more sons and daughters of the Scottish Church will be drawn to India to assist in its labours.

There is a great charm in the work in the Central Provinces, though, as we have already said, it has its peculiar difficulties. Its various stations are widely scattered, and its two largest missions, primarily for the aborigines, are hopelessly understaffed. Up to the present we have nothing like a Mass Movement to record, but we live in hope that some day the many prayers which have been offered for the work and the devoted lives of our missionaries will bear good fruit.

In concluding this chapter one may state that it has been the aim of the first Bishop to strengthen work at the head-quarters of the diocese as much as possible. The old Station Church of Nagpur has been converted into a beautiful little Cathedral by the genius of the late Mr. G. F. Bodley, and a fine Cathedral Hall has been built, which is used both for parochial and diocesan purposes. The Bishop Cotton School has been improved in many ways. The Children's Home, near the Cathedral, built largely through the help of the European Schools Improvement Association, is a handsome building and admirably adapted for its special

purpose. Two houses for Chaplains have been built, one of them called the Cathedral House, where the Archdeacon lives. The residence for the Bishop, beautifully situated on a hill, has been also built since the diocese was formed. In addition to this, during the first Bishop's Episcopate, Churches have been built in a good many places, such as Bilaspur, Badnera, Rutlam, Jubbulpore, and Marpha. Fortunately, nearly all these buildings were completed during the piping days of peace. Churches at Dongargarh and Bhopal are now in process of construction. In some cases these Churches have been built entirely by private subscriptions ; in some cases they have received Railway or Government grants. One can only hope, when the second Bishop of Nagpur is appointed, that under his guidance and inspiration the Church will press forward with renewed missionary activity to win thousands of Gonds into the Kingdom of Christ.

CHAPTER XXV

THE DIOCESE OF DORNAKAL, 1912

(A Diocese of Mass Movements)

BISHOP

1. VEDANAYAGAM SAMUEL AZARIAH, consecrated in St. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta, on December 29, 1912.

IN a sermon preached on the occasion of his enthronement, the present Bishop of Madras spoke of his predecessor, Bishop Whitehead, in the following way: "When he succeeded to the Bishopric, twenty years ago, it was almost impossible to make one united Diocese of Madras. There were too many languages, too vast an area, too many different stages of development and of education; and the great service for which he will be remembered in the Church is his formation of the Diocese of Dornakal, which united together in one the homogeneous sections of the Diocese of Madras, and started them on a new and vigorous Church life."

The Diocese of Dornakal began its life on December 29, 1912, when the Rev. V. S. Azariah was consecrated its first Bishop in St. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta. Dr. J. R. Mott, the well-known missionary authority, who was present on the occasion, has stated that it was one of the most impressive ceremonies he ever witnessed. There were no less than eleven Bishops of the Province of India taking part in the act of Consecration. Indians from all parts, and especially from the new Bishop's own country of Tinnevelly, were present in large numbers to do honour to their distinguished brother. The real significance of the ceremony lay in the fact that Bishop Azariah was the first Indian to be consecrated a Bishop of the Anglican Communion.

It has often been stated that the conversion of India must rest ultimately with the Christians of India, and that when Indian Christian leaders of outstanding ability and

devotion arise, results will soon be apparent, far greater than ever witnessed before. We believe that the truth of this has been abundantly proved during the years that have elapsed since Bishop Azariah's Consecration. But we must not anticipate our narrative.

Bishop Azariah is a Tamil by birth and education, and his diocese is, strange to relate, almost entirely Telugu. There is a marked difference between Tamils and Telugus in character and even physical features. The new Bishop, however, thoroughly understands his Telugu fellow-countrymen. Years ago he had been well known as a leader in the Y.M.C.A., and has travelled a great deal in Europe and America, where he has spoken at various religious Conventions. For the two years previous to his Consecration he had been Head of the Mission at Dornakal, started by the Indian Missionary Society of Tinnevelly.

When the Diocese of Dornakal was first formed in 1912, it was quite a small diocese in the south-east corner of the Nizam's Dominions. A few years later it was enlarged by the addition of the District of Dummagudem, in which the Church Missionary Society was working. Then came a Resolution of the Episcopal Synod in the year 1920, which transformed this comparatively small diocese into a diocese which has now probably as large, if not a larger number of Anglican Indian Christians than any other in India. By this resolution all the Mission Districts of both the Church Missionary Society and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in the Telugu country, were placed under the Episcopal jurisdiction of the Bishop of Dornakal. This means that the present Diocese of Dornakal includes a large portion of the Kistna district, together with the part of the Godavery district named Dummagudem ; parts of the Kurnool and Cuddapah districts to the south occupied by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel ; also the areas in the Hyderabad State occupied by the Indian Missionary Society of Tinnevelly, the Singareni Mission, the Khammamett Mission (formerly under the Church Missionary Society), and the recently formed Dornakal Diocesan Mission, which has started work in the hitherto totally unevangelised area in the Mulag Taluq.

We are not to think that our Church is the only evangelising agency at work in this part of India, as between the Kistna district and the Kurnool and Cuddapah districts

extends a large tract of country occupied by the American Evangelical Lutheran and American Baptist Missions.

The Church of England Zenana Mission has eleven lady workers in the Dornakal Diocese, and carries on evangelistic work at four centres, viz. Masulipatam, Ellore, Bezwada and Khammamett.

At Khammamett there is a big Mass Movement of the Mala and Madiga castes towards Christianity, which has been going on for some years. The number of Christians under the Bishop of Dornakal's fatherly care at the present time amounts to somewhat over 100,000, and every year sees new catechumens admitted and baptised, not by hundreds, but by thousands. The method of baptism largely adopted is immersion, sometimes in one of the great rivers. While the Delegation of the Church Missionary Society was visiting Dornakal, Dr. Bardsley was present and assisted at the baptism of hundreds of converts from the depressed classes in the river Godavery.

The staff of European ordained missionaries in the Diocese of Dornakal is small, and consists of but eight English Priests, while the number of Indian Clergy, which is growing steadily, is now fifty-three. The greater part of the pastoral work of the diocese has been handed over to the Indian Clergy. Like our other Indian Dioceses, the Dornakal Diocese has now got its own Diocesan Council. The diocese itself is divided up into Circles or districts, each containing from three to five Pastorates under a Circle or District Church Council, and with the exception of four, the chairmen of these District Church Councils are all Indian. It will therefore be seen that the work of self-government is already largely in the hands of the Indian Church. Steps are being taken to form a Diocesan Divinity School for the training of candidates for Holy Orders. It will grow, we may hope, in importance, and is at present located at Dornakal. It may readily be imagined in a diocese which consists so largely of the ignorant and depressed classes, education is one of the most important branches of missionary work. Over 1200 men and women are employed in the Diocese of Dornakal as teachers in the village schools, and during the last few years, night schools have been started in many villages, so that the young men may have a chance of continuing their education, and of fitting themselves for various subordinate positions in the

Police, Forest Department, and other public services in which some standard of literacy is required. The greater number of these teachers have received their education in the Elementary Boarding Schools for Boys, of which there are now seven in the diocese, in addition to the Vocational School at Dornakal, where agriculture, weaving, and carpentry are also taught. Those who are fit for higher education are sent on to the two High Schools of the diocese, either to Masulipatam (C.M.S.), or Nandyal (S.P.G.). From the old pupils of these two schools have come the great majority of the Clergy, sub-assistant-surgeons, school-masters and catechists who are now working in the diocese.

Some reference to the Noble College at Masulipatam must be made. It is an old and famous missionary institution started by the Rev. R. T. Noble, of the Church Missionary Society over eighty years ago, and now affiliated to the Madras University. Two years ago it was united with the American Evangelical Lutheran Mission at Guntur, the result of which is that the American College now sends its students for the B.A. Class to Masulipatam, and has also endowed a Professorship in the Noble College. Probably there is no Missionary College in India which is so richly endowed with scholarships from various sources as is this College. Its students now number over two hundred. It is to the Noble College that the Bishop has to look for a supply of well-trained teachers for the Training School and High School at Masulipatam and Nandyal.

There is a flourishing Telugu Churchmen's Society, closely affiliated to and warmly supported by the Church of England Men's Society in England. A Temperance Society has recently been started, with the hope of raising the spiritual and social life amongst the Christian lads and men of the diocese.

Women's work is now going on hand in hand with the work amongst the men. We have already alluded to the excellent work carried on by the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society. Special mention should be made of the Sharkey Memorial School in Masulipatam, which educates the Christian girls up to the Third Form, and has also a Normal Training Class for Women Teachers under the direction of two English ladies. Elementary Girls' Boarding Schools are also doing good work at Ellore, Khammamett, and Dornakal, while the Holy Cross School at Nandyal and a

small Primary Girls' School at Kalasapad provide education for a hundred and thirty girls in the Kurnool and Cuddapah districts. Three English lady workers of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel are stationed at Nandyal; but the smallness of the staff of women workers throughout the diocese makes it impossible to carry out the work urgently needed in the villages. As might be expected, the number of educated women in the Dornakal Diocese is still woefully small, and can only reach comparatively few people. Some evangelistic work is carried on by Bible-women in various centres, and quite recently the Mothers' Union, under the Presidentship of Mrs. Azariah, wife of the Bishop of Dornakal, is gradually spreading from the larger centres into the village Pastorates. Lace industries for women have been started at Dummagudem and Khammamett, and a small Diocesan School of Needlework has been at Dornakal.

One has said enough to indicate that a great work is being carried on in this part of India, and that its obvious success leads one to look forward to the time when the number of Bishops who are Indians will be increased greatly in such dioceses, when through their influence the flock of Christ will multiply abundantly.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE DIOCESE OF ASSAM, 1915

(The Country of Tea Gardens)

BISHOP

1. HERBERT PAKENHAM WALSH, D.D., consecrated 1915.

THE Diocese of Assam was carved out of the Diocese of Calcutta in 1915. The project had been debated for a good many years, and was at one time abandoned on the grounds of the comparative smallness of the number of Church people (then about 1600 Europeans and 3000 Indians) and the fewness of the Clergy (five Europeans and four Indian) to serve under the Bishop.

There was also the difficulty that the capital of the province, Shillong, was ministered to by a Government Chaplain of the Calcutta Diocese, the only one in the proposed diocese, and that under Government rules he could not serve under a Missionary Bishop. But the immense distances, the extremely bad communications, and the very scattered nature of the work, English and Indian alike, made Episcopal supervision from Calcutta extremely difficult, and indeed, with the growing provincial work of that Metropolitan See, almost impossible. Bishop Lefroy, therefore, pushed forward the endowment scheme, and his statesmanship got over the difficulty about the Shillong Chaplaincy, not by leaving the capital of Assam outside the diocese, as had been actually proposed (!), but by arranging that the Chaplain there, while departmentally under the Bishop of Calcutta, should be spiritually under the Bishop of Assam. He also very wisely arranged that the port of Chittagong and that division of Bengal should be included in the diocese, an arrangement which it is thought will some day be imitated by the State, since Chittagong is the natural port of Assam, and the head-quarters of its principal railway system.

Assam Diocese consists of an inverted triangle, whose

base, some five hundred miles in length, runs east and west along the wall of the Himalayas, flanking the mighty Brahmaputra river, which is in many places seven miles wide; the southern apex being at Cox Bazaar, below Chittagong, where India touches Burma. The western side of the triangle, also five hundred miles in length, after crossing the Brahmaputra valley, skirts the western wall of the Garo Hills, crosses the south of the great Surma river, whose basin runs up in a ramification of rivers to Sylhet and Silchar, and finally terminates along the coast-line at Cox Bazaar. The third line, on the east side, about six hundred and fifty miles in length, runs from Sadiya, the frontier station, where the Himalayas meet the Patkoi Hills, south-east through the Naga and the Lushai Hills to Cox Bazaar. The Garo Hills of which we have spoken, are the most westerly of a great block of hills (Garo, Khasi, Jaintia, and Naga) which divide the two great rivers Brahmaputra and Surma. The hill-station capital of Assam, Shillong, is pleasantly situated at a height of 5000 feet in the Khasi Hills, at the inconvenient distance of sixty-three miles from the nearest railway station.

It will thus be seen that the diocese includes two great river valleys, separated from each other by a great block of mountains. The two valleys swarm with an Assamese and Bengali population respectively, and in both of them are found the great tea estates which have made the name of Assam known throughout the world. The tea planters have *imported* labour from all parts of India, and so these plains are filled with representatives of scores of races, speaking a medley of languages, and shaking down eventually into what is called "Garden bat," a mixture of Hindi and Assamese. The hills are inhabited by tribe after tribe of sturdy Mongolian mountaineers, some still "head-hunters," others, through the splendid pioneer missionary work of the American Baptist and Welsh Presbyterian Methodist Missions, largely Christian and somewhat advanced in civilisation. The number of Asiatic languages spoken in Assam is seventy-eight main and fifty-eight subsidiary languages (the latter spoken only by small groups). The scenery is glorious, alike in the hills and in the plains, and owing to the heavy rain-fall the country is verdant and the vegetation luxuriant all the year round. Cherrapunjee in the Khasi Hills has the greatest average rain-fall in the world, viz. six hundred inches.

In recent years coal and oil have been developed in parts of Assam, but apart from these industries, and tea, the country is purely agricultural, and vast stretches are still unredeemed jungle and forest. Steamers ply along the great rivers, and a line of railway traverses each of the great valleys and pierces through the mountains between ; but apart from this the only communications are unmetalled roads, which become quagmires in the long rainy season. It will be seen at once that there are no large towns, and few large centres of population. The so-called capital, Shillong, is a small hill-station, and the little Church there, which serves as a pro-Cathedral, holds a hundred and thirty people, and is as large as any in the diocese. The English planters are very scattered, and usually have no Churches, and very infrequent services, each Chaplain having an enormous parish, involving many thousands of miles of travelling each year. The Indian Christians are equally scattered in small villages, where they build their simple Chapels, and receive teaching from a Catechist, while an Indian Priest visits them once every month or two.

The climate in the rains is steamy, enervating, and malarial, and it is very hard to maintain an English staff. The whole European staff of six has been wiped out twice during the seven years since the first Bishop came. The Indian staff has been augmented in the same time from four to nine, and is now adequate. The European staff needs similar augmenting, but it was first necessary to secure a living wage for those engaged, which has been done owing to the increasing support from the planting community. One name stands out pre-eminently in the Church history of Assam before the diocese was formed, that is, the Rev. Sydney Endle, who laboured for forty-three years (1864-1907) on the north bank of the Brahmaputra, and who was revered and beloved by the planters. He has left behind him two large Indian Churches, one of Mundas and Orauns at Solabari, near Tezpur, and one of Kacharis at Bengbari in the Mangaldaye district. Endle was a great authority on the Kachari language and people, among whom he was a pioneer missionary. Nelson Cosserat and Hugh Millett did splendid work among Indians at Dibrugarh and English at Chittagong respectively, and their deaths in the early years of the diocese were a great blow to the work, as they alone of the English staff had any length of experience in Assam.

The Kachari work suffered heavily after Endle's death, partly through the devastation caused by the fatal disease *Kala-azar*, which sweeps that district, and partly through there being no successor with a knowledge of the language to carry on the work. The diocese being launched in the stormy days of the Great War, made it impossible for men or money to be procured for this and other crying needs, but there is at last hope of the Kachari work receiving the attention it so sorely needs.

Up to 1922 there was no medical work and no woman worker in the diocese. In that year a nurse was sent out by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, for child and mother welfare among the Christian villages. Educational work has been similarly backward. But the same year saw the establishment of a Vocational School at Jaipur, the work of the school centring round farming and allied industries. A Deaconess has offered for this work, and it is hoped that soon a boys' and girls' school will be adequately staffed and equipped. It is also proposed to develop a Training Institution for Catechists, a supreme need of the diocese.

Another project which is slowly maturing is a hostel at Shillong for Anglo-Indian boys of our Church, who are attending the Roman Catholic School there as boarders, and who consequently get no religious teaching or worship.

The Indian Christians in the diocese are mostly immigrant Kols from Chota-Nagpur, who come here for the tea-garden work. They have, for the most part, now left the gardens, and become land-holders in Assam. A few scattered Khasi and Mikai congregations in the hills and Santali immigrants in the plains contribute the remainder of the Indian Christian flock, which numbers about 5500 and speaks eight languages. The European adherents of the Church of England number about 1500.

(This chapter has been written by the first Bishop of Assam.)

CHAPTER XXVII

THE MOTHER DIOCESE OF CALCUTTA, 1815

Bishops

The Bishops of Calcutta became Metropolitans in 1835; Royal Letters Patent, dated October 10, 1835.

1. Thomas Fanshawe Middleton, consecrated 1814; died at Calcutta 1823.
2. Reginald Heber, consecrated 1823; died at Trichinopoly 1826.
3. John Thomas James, consecrated 1827; died at sea 1828.
4. John Matthias Turner, consecrated 1829; died at Calcutta 1831.
5. Daniel Wilson, consecrated 1832; died at Calcutta 1858; First Metropolitan of India and Ceylon.
6. George Edward Lynch Cotton, consecrated 1858; drowned in the Ganges at Kushtea, 1866.
7. Robert Milman, consecrated 1866; died at Rawal Pindi 1876.
8. Edward Ralph Johnson, consecrated 1876; resigned 1898; died 1913.
9. James Edward Cowell Welldon, consecrated 1898; resigned 1902.
10. Reginald Stephen Copleston, consecrated Bishop of Colombo, in Westminster Abbey, 1875; translated 1902; resigned 1913.
11. George Alfred Lefroy, consecrated Bishop of Lahore 1899; translated 1913; died January 1919, in Calcutta.
12. Foss Westcott, consecrated Bishop of Chota-Nagpur 1905; translated 1919.

Books of Reference.—*History of the Oxford Mission to Calcutta*, by the Rev. G. Longridge; *Life of George Alfred Lefroy*, by Bishop Montgomery; *Digest of S.P.G.*, by C. F. Pascoe; *C.M.S. History*, by Eugene Stock.

IN a former chapter we spoke somewhat fully of the Episcopate of Bishop Milman. It had been his and Bishop Cotton's constantly expressed wish and prayer for many years that they might be relieved of the heavy burden of the Punjab and Burma. They both felt how much these large and growing countries needed the care of separate Bishops. What was not accomplished during Bishop Milman's lifetime was accomplished immediately after his death. When the fact became known that he had lost his life largely owing to his last journey to the Punjab, meetings attended by the Viceroy and other leading people were held in Calcutta and at Lambeth, when it was finally decided that the Calcutta Diocese must be relieved of these burdens.

When, therefore, the next Bishop of Calcutta was appointed, he was no longer responsible for the Episcopal supervision of Burma and the Punjab.

Bishop Milman's successor as Metropolitan of India was Edward Ralph Johnson, the Archdeacon of Warrington. It is greatly to be regretted that no memoir has ever been written of his long and faithful Episcopate. Coming to India when fifty years of age, he gave to the Church a period of over twenty-one years of unremitting toil. Of untiring energy and with an iron constitution, Bishop Johnson moved over his huge diocese at all seasons of the year, regardless of climate.

On one occasion, when journeying across country from Orissa with his Chaplain, they were attacked by dacoits at night. At the approach, of the dacoits the bearers of their palkies took to their heels, and one of the dacoits, approaching the Bishop's palki, poked a spear inside. Fortunately for the Bishop, the spear did not get home, and when the dacoits saw his enormous figure arrayed in robes of night emerging from the palki, they promptly took to flight.

All who remember Bishop Johnson will recall his fatherliness, courtesy, and kindliness as well as his practical commonsense way of looking at things. When his appointment was first announced some one talking with Bishop Jacobson, the well-known Bishop of Chester, expressed a wonder as to whether the new Metropolitan would be able to understand the subtleties of the Hindu mind. Bishop Jacobson's reply was very brief: "Johnson will do very well, he never goes out of his depth."

It was fortunate for the Church that she possessed a Metropolitan of his peculiar gifts at this particular period of her history. It was a time when a large number of new dioceses had to be formed, and when an organiser and man of real business capacity was peculiarly needed to keep things on sound lines. Bishop Johnson had also a wonderful way of getting things done without rubbing people up the wrong way. There is a story told of how, when one of his successors was giving Government a good deal of trouble by pressing earnestly views which Government did not take kindly to, a certain Home Secretary was heard to exclaim with a loud sigh, "Oh for the good days of Bishop Johnson!"

If any title might be appropriately given to Bishop

Johnson it would be that of Bishop-maker. We have already stated that during the earliest days of his Episcopate, the Punjab and Burma had been formed into separate dioceses, though their Bishops were consecrated in England. Within the same year, assisted by Bishops Gell, Mylne, and Copleston, he consecrated Dr. Caldwell and Dr. Sargent as Assistant-Bishops to the Bishop of Madras. The large number of Christians in Tinnevelly had made Bishop Gell extremely anxious to appoint these two distinguished missionaries as chief Shepherds over the S.P.G. and C.M.S. congregations respectively. Bishop Milman had strongly objected to the arrangement, on the ground that it was likely to perpetuate "Society" distinctions and so to prevent the unity of the Church. The urgency of the needs, however, had decided Archbishop Tait that the experiment should be made. The fact that it answered admirably for some years must be attributed more to the warm friendship of these two Episcopal Missionaries than to the principle involved in the arrangement. When both these Bishops passed away, as they did some years later, the experiment was not repeated, and one Suffragan Bishop for all Tinnevelly was appointed over both groups of Christians, S.P.G. and C.M.S.

The complaint that the claims of Indian Chaplains have been strangely overlooked when considering appointments to the Indian Episcopate is a fairly frequent one. It is therefore interesting to note that the first and second Bishops of Tinnevelly, an essentially missionary diocese, were both of them Indian Chaplains, as indeed was the second Bishop of Lahore. It is but fair to add that if the Indian Episcopate has been recruited generally from the ranks of Missionaries rather than from those of the Chaplains, it is because with but few exceptions the Chaplains are ignorant of Indian languages, and know nothing of missionary work which bulks so large in the duties of the Indian Bishop.

During his visits to Chota-Nagpur, Bishop Johnson had for long been impressed with the fact that its interesting mission needed badly a Bishop of its own, requiring as it did far more supervision than could be given it by the Bishop of Calcutta. It was first offered to George Lefroy, Head of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi, but the needs of his mission at that time compelled him to refuse it. After a good deal of persuasion the Rev. J. C. Whitley, who had been for over twenty years its Superintending Missionary,

was prevailed upon very reluctantly to accept this responsible office. The story of his life's work is told elsewhere in these pages.

Hardly had Chota-Nagpur received its first Bishop than a scheme for a Bishopric for the United Provinces was set on foot. It was a part of India in which missionary work had developed rapidly, and Bishop Johnson felt that it was impossible for a Bishop of Calcutta really to supervise its varied European and Indian work.

And here a few words may well be said about a person to whom our Church of India must always owe a deep debt of gratitude. Bishop Wilkinson, first Bishop of North and Central Europe, had lost two brothers during the great Mutiny. Their tragic deaths had gone home to him very deeply, and had led him to make a solemn resolution to do all in his power to help forward the cause of Christianity in India. It is to him more than to any other person that the Dioceses of Lucknow, Nagpur, and Assam owe the major part of their endowments. Never weary of urging on the wealthy English congregations in Northern and Central Europe, as well as in the larger centres of industrial life at home, the duty of the English Church towards India, he was instrumental in raising thousands of pounds for the purpose of helping forward with endowments these proposed Bishoprics.

In 1893 Alfred Clifford, a well-known missionary and for some years Secretary to the Church Missionary Society in Calcutta, was consecrated first Bishop of Lucknow.

Then came a demand for two more Bishoprics in South India. After the Mutiny the number of Christians in South India, Anglican and non-Anglican, had grown rapidly. Between the years 1857 and 1878 the non-Roman Christian community had grown from 90,000 to nearly 300,000, of whom about 100,000 were Anglican. Not only was there an advance in numbers, but there was also a considerable advance in education.

When Bishops Caldwell and Sargent passed away after long years of splendid work, it was felt better for Tinnevelly to have one Suffragan Bishop to care for the whole Anglican community in those regions. The person eventually selected and consecrated was the Rev. Samuel Morley, Archdeacon of Madras, and for many years Chaplain to Bishop Gell. He was consecrated in the year 1896.

The number of converts in the neighbouring country of Travancore had also grown considerably during the period, especially from the lower castes. In twenty years it had increased from 6000 to 20,000. As it was evident that these people could not adequately be ministered to by the Bishop of Madras, it was decided to consecrate an Anglican Bishop for Travancore. The person selected was the Rev. J. M. Speechly, Principal of the Cambridge Nicholson Institution at Kottayam. He was consecrated in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, in the year 1879.

Bishop Johnson had not been long in Calcutta, with its vast crowd of Indian students, when he saw clearly that something must be done by the Church for their spiritual and moral enlightenment. The majority of these students were lads from the country who had lived under conditions injurious both to body and soul. In his anxiety he turned to his old University, and begged it to send out men to Calcutta to work amongst its students and educated Bengali. His appeal was not in vain, and in the year 1879 there arrived in Calcutta a small body of distinguished Oxford graduates who were destined to lay the foundation of what is now one of our finest missions in India. It is impossible, within the limits of these pages, to tell of all the work that this mission is doing, of its large expansion in staff of workers (there are twenty-five Sisters at work in its various spheres), and of all that it has stood for in India by its lofty spiritual tone. Fortunately, its history had been written and well written by a former member.

Coming in the first instance to Calcutta, it gradually established both Arts and Medical Hostels which were soon crowded to overflowing. Of its original three members, one, the Rev. E. F. Brown, for many years Superior, gave India forty years of splendid service. Then came what seemed to them a distinct call to take up work in the villages of Eastern Bengal. Who that has ever visited Barisal, the Oxford Settlement in Eastern Bengal, can forget its wonderful atmosphere of "work unsevered from tranquillity." Every day has its full share of work for the Brothers and Sisters. Standing between their separate spheres of work, schools and carpenter's shop on the one side, a Widows' Home, Girls' Orphanage and School on the other side, is a beautiful Basilica Church, Cathedral-like in its proportion, where all meet during the day, from time to time, for united

worship and intercession. Close to Calcutta at Behala is another wonderful little settlement where Father Douglas, M.C., is training a large number of Bengali boys, and where Oxford Sisters have got most interesting and important work. Then further away in Eastern Bengal, in Dacca, is another interesting sphere of work of this splendid mission.

When Bishop Johnson resigned in failing health, after more than twenty years of hard work, he was the first Bishop of Calcutta up till then who had not died in India.

Bishop Johnson was succeeded by the Rev. James Edward Cowell Welldon, Headmaster of Harrow—a fine scholar, a brilliant preacher, and a leading educationist. It was hoped by many that he would prove a second Bishop Cotton, and would carry far forward Christian education, especially in our Anglo-Indian schools. Ill health, however, dogged him from the beginning, and when at length it became apparent that it was impossible for him to continue his work in India, he consented, but only with deep reluctance, to resign his See. The story of his life belongs to England more than to India. One diocese in India, that of Nagpur, cannot forget that it owes the completion of its endowment to his private munificence.

Bishop Welldon was duly succeeded by Reginald Stephen Copleston, who had been Bishop of Colombo for twenty-seven years. Consecrated when only thirty years of age, he had done a great work in that Island Diocese, and it is an open secret that it was with the deepest reluctance he left it for Calcutta. A great missionary, he was aided in this work by the fact that new languages presented no difficulty to him. It is said that he had mastered no less than thirteen languages. In spite of long years of residence in the rather enervating climate of Ceylon, he had kept up his scholarship so thoroughly that at the same time as he was offered the post of Metropolitan of India, he was also offered the Headship of his old College at Oxford.

Possibly the genius of Bishop Copleston stood out most clearly when taking part in Councils and Synods. He had a peculiar gift for directing the thoughts of large assemblies to what was essential, and of untangling the Gordian knots in a debate when it seemed almost impossible to see one's way out of a difficulty. In the early days of his Bishopric he had made a special study of Buddhism, in which he was aided by his fine knowledge of the ancient Pali language. His

classical work on this subject is a recognised authority to-day. During his Episcopate the Bishoprics of Nagpur and of Dornakal were created. Since he retired he has rendered constant service to the Church in India as President of the Indian Church Aid Association.

To write about his successor, George Alfred Lefroy, is unnecessary as Bishop Montgomery has given us a very valuable memoir of his life. He was certainly one of the greatest missionaries our Church has ever had in India. Had Bishops Cotton and Milman been present when George Lefroy was addressing great crowds in the Chandni Chowk at Delhi in perfect Urdu and with an extraordinary grip over his audience, they would have hesitated before they discouraged bazaar preaching.

As Head of the Cambridge Mission at Delhi, Lefroy exercised an influence amongst all classes of Indians unlike any before or after him. So highly was he respected by the Mahomedans, that he was sometimes invited to discuss the truths of our religion within the precincts of their mosques. At one time it seemed possible that he might have gone to Madras on Bishop Gell's resignation, and that Dr. Whitehead might have succeeded Bishop Mathew at Lahore. Fortunately, Providence intervened, and Lahore kept Lefroy, while Madras took Whitehead whose gifts were much more suited for South India.

To speak of our present Metropolitan, the Most Rev. Foss Westcott, does not come within the scope of this history and would ill become one of his Suffragans. Long years of quiet and devoted work in the S.P.G. Mission at Cawnpore fitted him to succeed his uncle, Bishop Whitley, as second Bishop of Chota-Nagpur. Thorough and painstaking in all his work, he soon made his mark in that fascinating aboriginal diocese. When it became known that he was to succeed his friend George Lefroy as Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India, every one felt satisfied that a wise choice had been made.

It remains for us now to say a few words about the various kinds of work which are being carried on in this the Mother Diocese of India. Mention should, I think, first be made of the Bishop's College, which is now a hundred years old. It has passed through many changes since the days of Bishops Heber and James. Its old and beautiful buildings at Sibpur, which resembled so closely one of our University

Colleges in England, have long been abandoned for a site in the nearer suburbs of Calcutta. For years it fulfilled a double function as a Theological College and as an Arts College affiliated to the Calcutta University. Within the last few years it has gone back to what it was originally intended for, and under the Principalship of the Rev. Norman Tubbs, now Bishop in Tinnevelly, became an important Theological College, where advanced Indian Christian students from all parts of India can get a thorough grounding in Christian theology.

Calcutta is full of important Mission Colleges for the education of the Indians, and while the Roman Catholics and Presbyterians are taking a large part in this work, our Church is also well represented by the St. Paul's Cathedral Mission College in Amherst Street, which is affiliated to the University of Calcutta. Nor is the higher education for girls, Christian and non-Christian, neglected. Those who have visited the Diocesan College and Collegiate School which is under the management of the Sisters of the Community of St. John the Baptist, Clewer, cannot help being struck by the splendid work of this institution, which cares for the spiritual, intellectual, and physical welfare of these girls in a most happy fashion.

The Church of England Zenana Mission is also doing a fine work amongst the Indian zenanas in Calcutta, and has got a number of elementary schools where little Indian girls are given a good rudimentary education, as well as taught the truths of the Christian Faith.

It is singularly fortunate that, in addition to the work which is being done in the great city of Calcutta, the diocese includes amongst its activities work in the teeming villages of Bengal and amongst one or two of its aboriginal races. We must remember that for many years what is now the Diocese of Chota-Nagpur, with its fine aboriginal Mission, was included in the Mother Diocese of India. Probably the great success of the mission in Chota-Nagpur has made people forget that there is a splendid work being carried on amongst the Santhals in the Calcutta Diocese itself. This work was started shortly after the Indian Mutiny by an ex-cavalry officer, Major Puxley, who, having passed through the horrors of the Crimean War, determined to give the rest of his life to evangelistic work in India. Unfortunately, his health failed after a short time in the

Santhal country, but not before solid beginnings had been made. To-day there are more than six thousand Christian Santhals in this area, and no one who has spent a Sunday at Taljhari, with its fine Church, will soon forget the joy of seeing a great body of Santhal Christians worshipping the true God and our Lord Jesus Christ in the heart of a country which was once wholly given up to devil-worship.

The work of the Church Missionary Society in and around Krishnagar in the Nuddea district is of long standing. This mission has had its ups and downs. In the days of Bishop Wilson it was full of promise and though for a time things have been rather at a standstill, there are again encouraging signs of a further advance.

The problem of Anglo-Indian education is one which presses peculiarly heavily on our Church in Calcutta, as might be expected. Though much is being done, a great deal more remains to be done. The famous old Free School and still older Charity School have of late years amalgamated and passed into what is called the St. Thomas' School Society. It has fine endowments and is bringing up large numbers of children. There is a useful Girls' High School in memory of Archdeacon Pratt. St. Paul's Church, Scott's Lane, has always been connected closely with Calcutta Cathedral. It was served for many years by the late Canon Jackson, one of the most devoted Priests who ever worked in India. This Church has got its schools for Anglo-Indian girls and boys of a rather poor class. A great work also has been done amongst the poorest of this community by Mr. Hadow, of the Old Mission Church.

Years ago a school for Anglo-Indian boys of the better class was started by Archdeacon Corrie in Calcutta. During the Episcopate of Bishop Cotton it was translated to Darjeeling, where it occupies to-day one of the most beautiful positions in that very beautiful station. If the Church did wisely in establishing this now famous School of St. Paul in the Himalayas, it has done equally wisely in establishing its Diocesan School for Girls in the same place. Fortunate indeed is the boy or girl whose parents, though unable to afford to send them to England for education, are able to send them to either of these schools in Darjeeling.

One must not conclude this brief account of the Mother Diocese without some reference to what it has done for other Indian Dioceses. At one time embracing Australia,

and at another time touching the Afghan Frontier, it has been shorn continually of various portions of its vast territories, most of which are now vigorous dioceses. Were search to be made in the records of those younger dioceses, it would be found that at the time of parting the mother had not forgotten to endow her child with most of the worldly goods she was allowed to part with, The Diocese of Calcutta has had a great history. It has been presided over by a body of remarkably able and devoted Bishops. If Calcutta is no longer the Capital of India, Calcutta will always be the capital of our Church in India. Nowhere in the East has the Church received a stronger and more generous backing from its laity ; nowhere have its appeals for help been met with greater readiness than by the English and Scottish merchants of this great city.

CHAPTER XXVIII

CONCLUSION

AND now, ere we conclude this short account of our Church's work in India, it may be well to recall briefly what has been actually accomplished during these last three hundred years, as well as to turn our thoughts forward towards what we may have to face in coming days.

Three hundred years ago the English in India were living in a few big Factories and a good many smaller Factories dotted up and down the coast of Western India, in a few Factories on the Madras Coast, and in the Eastern Archipelago, with its southern head-quarters at Bantam. In the large factories we generally had a Chaplain to look after the moral and spiritual welfare of the factors. That was all our Church was doing from a religious point of view in the India of those days.

If it is true that the British stumbled into their Indian Empire "in a fit of absent-mindedness," it is equally true that no plans and aims for the conversion of India to Christ were in the mind of our Church during that first century of our connection with it. Painfully slowly did the missionary idea grow during the eighteenth century, manifesting itself in the interest which the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge took in the work of the German Lutheran missionaries in South India. Then with the revival of religious life in England, largely through the influence of the Wesleys and Whitefield, the Church woke up to its duties overseas as the eighteenth century came to an end. Mainly through the influence of Charles Simeon, some most devoted and brilliant spirits among the young men at Cambridge, full of missionary zeal, went to India as Chaplains of the Company.

Then with the beginning of the nineteenth century came a long struggle in Parliament between those who felt we had a Christian duty towards India and those who were for leaving things just as they were. It was a struggle which ended in

victory, with the result that our first Bishop came to Calcutta in the year 1815.

Since then, in spite of many difficulties and discouragements, a vast change has come over the work of our Church in India. In 1815, when Bishop Middleton arrived in Calcutta, there were seven hundred thousand Christians in India, of all denominations and races; now there are over four millions, of whom between five and six hundred thousand belong to the Anglican Communion. Then there was one Anglican Bishop in the whole of the Eastern Hemisphere; now there are thirteen dioceses in the Province of India, Burma, and Ceylon. Then there were forty Anglican Clergy and no Indian Clergy; now there are about a thousand Clergy, of whom one-third are Indians. Of these Indians one has been raised to the Episcopate and two are Archdeacons. Then there were only fifteen Churches in the whole country; and now there are well over twelve hundred. Then there was no vernacular Prayer-book, and now the Church of England Prayer-book has been translated into at least fourteen Indian languages. Then the vernacular versions of the English Bible could be counted on the fingers of one hand, now there are translations of the Scriptures into seventy-six Indian languages and dialects, including eighteen translations of the whole Bible. Nineteen million copies of these have been distributed by the Bible Society alone in India, besides the enormous number issued by the S.P.C.K.

Certainly when we recall our tiny beginnings and the long period which elapsed before we woke up to our Christian duty towards India, we may well thank God for all that He has helped us to do during this last century. Yet with our thanksgivings must blend a deep undertone of penitence and humiliation, because, though much has been accomplished, far more might have been done for Christ, if we had been more faithful.

If Bishop Lightfoot's famous remark has any truth in it, that "the study of history is the best cordial for drooping spirits," I think we may draw plenty of encouragement from the past as we turn to face our future tasks in India. Just now we are face to face with a new India in which, with Government increasingly Indian, the Church must inevitably experience difficulties which it has never experienced before. Privileges which the Church has long enjoyed may soon be

ours no longer. Before long we shall have almost certainly to do for ourselves far more than we have done before. While we need not doubt that as long as the English are ruling in India, the Government will recognise in some measure its duty towards them in helping them to maintain their Churches and to support their Chaplains, still privileges of even this kind may be ours less and less as time goes on.

At the present time there is an interesting movement on the part of our Church in India to sever its legal connection with the Church at home. This movement has not come about quite so suddenly as some may think. From the year 1863 Synods of the Bishops of our Church have been held at regular intervals in India. While these Synods have been of value in providing means for consultation and for united action on the part of the Bishops, they have had no status in law, and so no real authority over the members of the Church. Less than ten years ago a further step was taken. Clergy and laity, representative of all our dioceses, together with their Bishops, were summoned to Calcutta by the Metropolitan, to discuss plans for the formation of a Synod of Bishops, Clergy and Laity in every diocese, as well as for the creation of a Representative Provincial Synod for all India. The intention of the Representative Council which drew up these plans was that the rules and decisions of these Synods should have a binding force on all members of the Church in India. While, however, matters were still under discussion legal advice was received from England that the formation of such Synods was illegal, because the Church in India was only a part of the Church of England, and no organisation with such powers existed in England. Accordingly, for the time being, the idea of a fully constituted Synod was abandoned, and Diocesan Councils and a Provincial Council for all India was formed on a voluntary basis. With the passing of the Church Powers Bill in Parliament, and the formation of a National Assembly of the Church of England, it was decided that the time had come for taking the necessary steps to secure legal independence for our Church in India. As a result of this decision, an Indian Church Measure was drafted in England, and has already met with the approval of the Provincial Council in Calcutta. This Church Measure is being discussed at the present time with great interest in every part of India, and is being brought before every one of our Diocesan Councils for an expression of

their opinion. Early in 1924 the decisions of these Councils will be considered by the Provincial Council when it meets in Calcutta.

Those who are responsible for this Measure are themselves clearly convinced that the independence which this severance of Calcutta from Canterbury will bring is essential for the well-being and dignity of the Church in India. Some of the gains which the Church will then acquire will be as follows : " Freedom to choose her own Bishops, to settle the boundaries of her dioceses, to hold her own Synods, to bind her members by a voluntary contract to obey the laws made by the Church, to deal through its own courts with those who fail in their obligations, and to adopt her own expressions of faith, worship, rites, and ceremonies."

There are, however, others who believe that the time is hardly ripe for this great change. They fear it will cripple the Church, especially on its English and Anglo-Indian side, very seriously from a financial point of view. They think, too, that the Indian section of the Church is not as yet sufficiently developed to have such large powers entrusted to it.

But if, for a brief period, the difficulties of the situation bulk large we must not allow our minds to be obscured as to the main and ultimate issues of the Church's task in India. She is here to take her share in the conversion of India to Christ. She is here to draw men of every race and creed into the one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, of which we are a branch. We cannot have one Church for the Indians and another for the English—we cannot part with those Indian converts whom our missionaries have won to Christ during the last hundred years. We must desire some means by which the English and Anglo-Indians can retain the services they love, while giving to our Indian brethren greater elasticity as regards worship and a power with due safeguards of developing along lines more suited to their peculiar characteristics. And if for a short period of transition difficulties have to be faced, what will these seem to be later on, when compared with the great achievement, whereby the Church of the Factory has become the Church of the people of India ?

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